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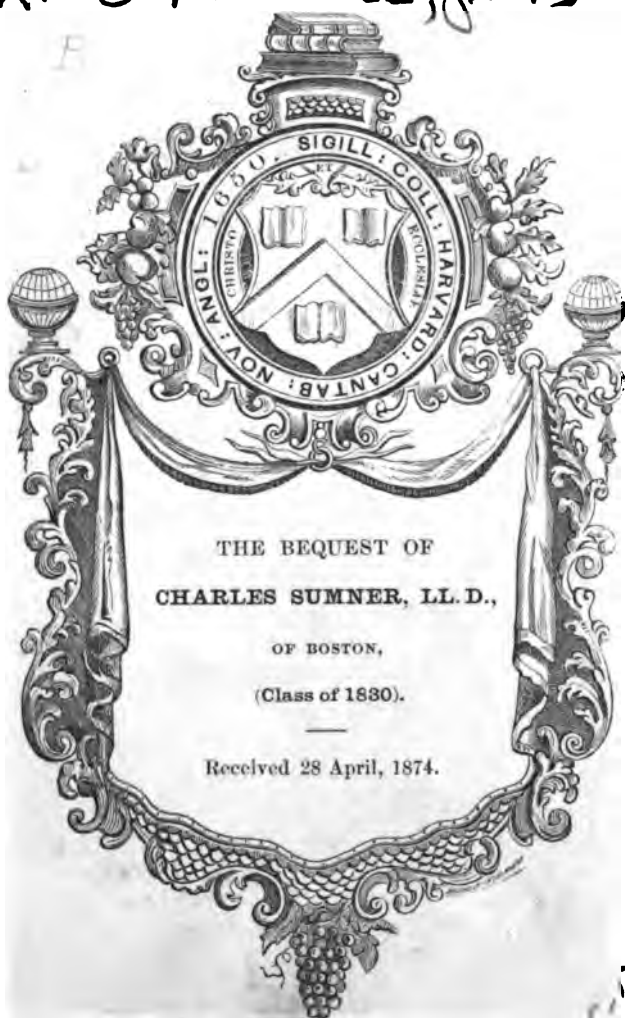
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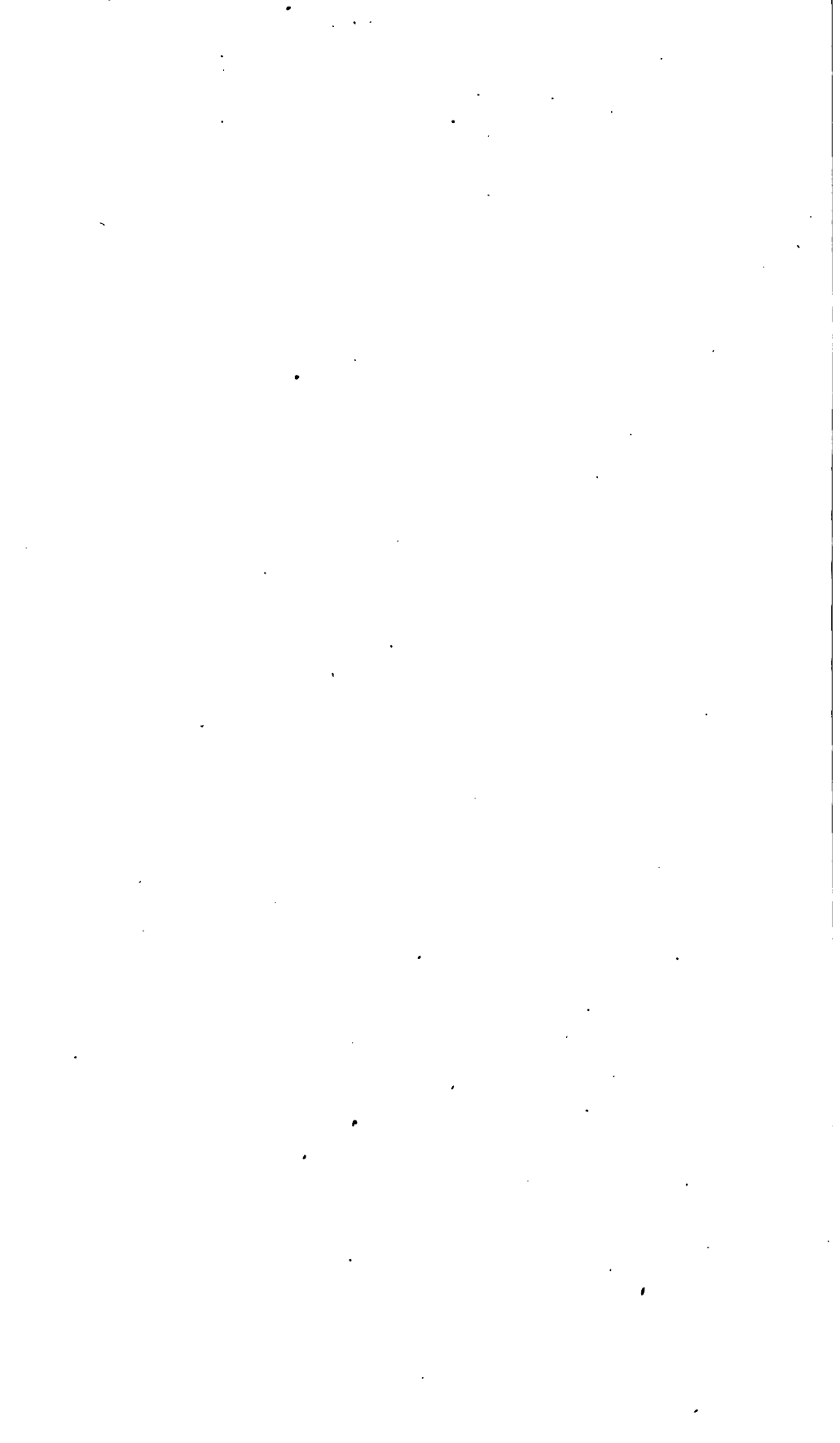


THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
REBELLION.

BY
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

Κτήμα ἐς αἰί. *Thucyd.*

NE QUID FALSI DICERE AUDEAT, NE QUID VERI
NON AUDEAT. *Cicero.*



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND.

Hyde, 1st. BY
EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON,

SOME TIME LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. III. PART I.



OXFORD:
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Request of
Hon. Chas. Sumner,
of Boston.
(H. R. 1830.)



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TO THE
Q U E E N.

MADAM,

WITH all duty and submission comes into the world the last part of this History under your Majesty's protection; a just tribute to your Majesty, as well on the account of the memory of the Author, so long engaged, and so usefully, in the service of the Crown, as of the work itself, so worthily memorable for the great subject he treats of; and so instructive, by his noble way of treating it.

This work, now it is completely published, relates the transactions of near twenty years; hardly to be paralleled in any other time, or place, for the wonderful turns and passages in it. In this space of time, your Majesty sees your own country at the highest pitch of happiness and prosperity, and the lowest degree of adversity and misery. So that, when a man carries his thoughts and his memory over all the occurrences of those times, he seems to be under the power of some enchantment, and to dream, rather than read, the relations of so many sur-

prising revolutions. The peace and the plenty of this kingdom, and, in so short a space of time, the bloody desolation of it by a most wicked rebellion, the ruin of so many noble and great families, and the devastation of their estates ; and, after this, the restitution of all things *as at the beginning*, is hardly credible at this time, even so soon after all these things came to pass.

When your Majesty sees one of your royal ancestors, the first who lived to reign as heir to the two Crowns of Great Britain united, and, on that account, higher in reputation, honour, and power, than any of his predecessors, brought, by unaccountable administrations on the one hand, and by vile contrivances on the other, into the greatest difficulties and distresses throughout all his kingdoms ; then left and abandoned by most of his servants, whom he had himself raised to the greatest honours and preferments ; thus reduced to have scarce one faithful able counsellor about him, to whom he could *breathe his conscience and complaints*, and from whom he might expect one honest, sound, disinterested advice : after this, how he was obliged to take up arms, and to contend with his own subjects in the field for his crown, the laws, his liberty, and life ; there meeting with unequal fortune, how he was driven from one part of the kingdom, and from one body of an army to another, till at last he was brought under the power of cruel and merciless men, imprisoned, arraigned, condemned,
and

and executed like a common malefactor: and after this still, when your Majesty sees his enemies triumphing for a time in their own guilt, and ruling over their fellows, and first companions in wickedness, with successful insolence, till these very men by force, and fraud, and sundry artifices, still getting the better one of another, brought all government into such confusion and anarchy, that no one of them could subsist; and how then, by God's providence, the heir of the royal Martyr was invited and brought home by the generality of the people, and their representatives, to return, and take on him the government, in as full an exercise of it as any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed; not subject to any of those treaties, or conditions, which had been so often offered by his Father to the men then in credit and power, and, in their pride and fury, had been as often rejected by them: when your Majesty sees before you all this begun, and carried on in violence and war, and concluded in a peaceful restoration, within the space of twenty years; by Englishmen alone amongst themselves, without the intervention of any foreign power; many of the same hands joining in the recovery and settlement, as they had done before in the destruction, of their country; your Majesty will certainly say,

This was the Lord's doing, and it must ever be marvellous in our eyes.

An account of this great work of God coming

to be published in your Majesty's time, it is humbly conceived not improper to congratulate your good fortune, that, in the beginning of your reign, such a history of the greatest matters passed within your own dominions, comes to light; as well for the necessity there may be, after above forty years run out in a very unsettled and various management of the public affairs, to put men in mind again of those mischiefs under which so many great men fell on both sides, as in hopes, that on your Majesty's account, and for the glory of your name, whom your people have universally received with joy, this generation may be inclined to let these fresh examples of good and evil sink into their minds, and make the deeper impression in them to follow the one, and avoid the other.

From the year 1660 to very near 1685, which was the time of King Charles the Second's reign here in England, it must needs be owned, that, with all the very good understanding and excellent good nature of that King, there was a great mixture of counsels, and great vicissitudes of good and bad events, almost throughout that space of time attending his government. They seem indeed to be somewhat like the four seasons of the year; of which three quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flourishing, and gay; but there come as constantly severe winters, that freeze, wither, destroy, and cut off many hopeful plants, and expectations of things to come.

THE DEDICATION.

v

It must be owned too, since it can never be concealed, that, from the beginning of the Restoration, there was, certainly, not such a return to God Almighty for the wonderful blessings he had poured out with so liberal a hand, as, no doubt, was due to the great Author and Giver of all that happiness: neither was there such a prudence in the administration, or such a steadiness in the conduct of affairs, as the fresh experience of the foregone misfortunes might well have forewarned those that were entrusted in it, to have pursued with courage and constancy. It is but too notorious there was great forgetfulness of God, as well as manifest mistakes towards the world; which quickly brought forth fruits meet for such undutifulness and ill conduct.

The next four years after that reign were attended with more fatal miscarriages; over which it may be more decent to draw a veil, than to enter into a particular enumeration of them. Many great Princes have been led unawares into irrecoverable errors; and the greater they are, so many more particular persons are usually involved in the calamity.

What followed after this time, till your Majesty's most happy coming to the throne, is so fresh in the memory of all men yet living, that every one will be best able to make his own observations upon it. Such deliverances have their pangs in the birth, that much weaken the constitution,

stitution, in endeavouring to preserve and amend it.

And now your Majesty, who succeeds to a Revolution as well as a Restoration, has the advantage of a retrospect on all these accidents, and the benefit of reviewing all the failings in those times : and whatsoever was wanting, at those opportunities of amending past errors, in the management of affairs, for the better establishment of the Crown, and the security of the true old English government, it will be your Majesty's happiness to supply in your time : a time in some sort resembling the auspicious beginning of King Charles the Second's Restoration ; for in that time, as now in your Majesty's, the people of this kingdom ran cheerfully into obedience ; the chiefest offenders lay quiet under a sense of their own crimes, and an apprehension of the reward justly due to them ; and all your subjects went out to meet your Majesty with duty, and most with love.

Comparisons of times may be as odious as that of persons ; and therefore no more shall be said here on that subject, than that since the Restoration, and some few years after it, given up to joy and the forgetfulness of past miseries, there hath been no time that brought so much hope of quiet, and so general a satisfaction to these kingdoms, as that on which we saw your Majesty so happily seated upon the throne of your ancestors.

Among

Among all the signs of greatness and glory in a Prince's reign, there is none more really advantageous, none more comfortable, than that which Virgil remarks as a felicity in the time of Augustus,

When abroad the sovereign is prosperous, and at home does govern subjects willing to obey :

When it is not fear that drives and compels them, but affection and loving-kindness that draws them to their duty ; and makes them rejoice under the laws by which they are governed. Such was certainly the time of your Majesty's first entrance ; and such God grant it may be ever.

The two first volumes of this History have laid before your Majesty the original causes and the foundations of the rebellion and civil war ; the contrivances, designs, and consultations in it ; and the miserable events of it ; and seemed to have finished the whole war, when the Author, at the very end of the ninth book, says, that *from that time there remained no possibility for the King to draw any more troops together in the field*. And when there is an end of action in the field, the enquiries into the consequences afterwards are usually less warm.

But it happens in the course of this History, that several new scenes of new wars, and the events of them, are opened in this volume ; which, it is hoped, will prove exceeding useful, even in those parts, where, by reason of the sadness of the sub-

ject, it cannot be delightful, and, in all other parts of it, both useful and delightful.

Your Majesty especially, who must have your heart perpetually intent to see what followed in the close of all those wars, and by what means and methods the loss of all that noble and innocent blood, and particularly that portion of the royal stream then spilt, was recompensed upon their heads who were the wicked contrivers of the parricide, and how at last the miseries of these nations, and the sufferings of your royal family, were all recovered by God Almighty's own unerring hand, will, no doubt, be more agreeably entertained in this volume with the relation of the secret steps of the return of God's mercy, than when he still seemed openly to have forsaken his own oppressed cause; wherein so much of what was dearest to yourself was so highly concerned.

Of the transactions within these kingdoms, soon after the war was ended, especially just before and after the barbarous murder of the blessed King, this Author could have but short and imperfect informations abroad. It cannot therefore justly be expected that he should be so full or minute in many circumstances relating to the actions and consultations of that party here at home, as are to be found in some other writers, whose business it was to intend only such matters.

One thing indeed were very much to be wished,

wished, that he had given the world a more distinct and particular narrative of that pious King's last most magnanimous sufferings in his imprisonments, trial, and death. But it seems the remembrance of all those deplorable passages was so grievous and insupportable to the writer's mind, that he abhorred the dwelling long upon them, and chose rather to contract the whole black tragedy within too narrow a compass. But this is a loss that can only now be lamented, not repaired.

But when the History brings your Majesty to what the noble writer esteemed one of his principal businesses in this volume, to attend King Charles the Second, and his two royal brothers, throughout all their wanderings, which take up a considerable share of it, and are most accurately and knowingly described by him, as having been a constant witness of most of them, it is presumed, this part may give your Majesty equal satisfaction to any that is gone before it. It will not be unpleasant to your Majesty, since you have known so well the happy conclusion of it, to see the banished King under his long adverse fortune, and how many years of trouble and distress he patiently waited God Almighty's appointed time, for his redemption from that captivity.

In that disconsolate time of distress and lowness of his fortune, your Majesty will find cause to observe, that there were factions even then in
his

his little Court beyond sea; so inseparable are such indecent and unchristian contentions from all communities of men: they are like *tares sown by an enemy amongst the wheat, whilst good men sleep.*

Upon the subject of the factions in those days, there is a particular passage in this History, of two parties in that Court abroad, who thought it worth their while, even then to be very industrious in prosecuting this Author with unjust and false accusations. And the Author himself observes, that, howsoever those parties seemed, on most other accounts, incompatible the one with the other, they were very heartily united in endeavouring to compass his destruction; and for no other reason, that ever appeared, but his being an unwearied assertor of the Church of England's cause, and a constant friend and servant to the true interest of it; to which either of them was really more irreconcilable, than they were to each other, whatsoever they pretended.

This passage seems to deserve a particular reflection, because, within few years after that King's restoration, some of both those parties joined again in attacking this noble Author, and accusing him anew of the very same pretended crimes they had objected to him abroad; where there had been so much malice shewed on one side, and so much natural and irresistible innocence appeared on the other, that one would have thought, no arrow out of the same quiver could

could have been enough envenomed to have hurt so faithful, so constant, and so tried a servant to the Church and Crown.

This particular, and another, wherein your Majesty will find what advice this Author gave his royal Master, upon the occasion of his being much pressed to go to church to Charenton, and how some intrigues, and snares, cunningly laid on one side, were very plainly and boldly withstood on the other by this Author, will let the world see, why this man was by any means to be removed, if his adversaries could effect it, as one that was perpetually crossing their mischievous designs, by an habitual course of adhering unmoveably to the interest of this church and nation.

In the progress of this book, your Majesty will also find some very near that King whilst he was abroad, endeavouring to take advantage of the forlorn and desperate circumstances of his fortune, to persuade him, that the party who had fought for his father was an insignificant, a despicable, and undone number of men; and, on this account, putting him on the thoughts of marrying some Roman Catholic lady, who might engage those of that religion, both at home and abroad, in his Majesty's interest; others at the same time, with equal importunity, recommending the power of the Presbyterians, as most able to do him service, and bring him home.

This noble Author all this while persisted, in
the

the integrity of his soul, to use that credit his faithfulness and truth had gained him, to convince the King, that foreign force was a strength not desirable for him to depend on, and, if it were suspected to be on the interest of Popery, of all things most likely to prevent and disappoint his restoration; that for his own subjects, none of them were to be neglected; his arms ought to be stretched out to receive them all; but the old royal party was that his Majesty should chiefly rely on, both to assist him in his return, and afterwards to establish his government.

This noble Author had been a watchful observer of all that had passed in the time of the troubles; and had the opportunity to have seen the actions, and penetrated, in a good measure, into the consultations of those days, and was no ill judge of the temper and nature of mankind; and he, it seems, could not be of opinion, but that they who had ventured all for the father, would be the truest and firmest friends to the son.

Whether this grew up in him to be his judgment, from his observation of the rules of nature, and a general practice in all wise men to depend most on the service and affection of those who had been steady to them in their distresses; or whether a lukewarm trimming indifference, though sometimes dignified with the character of politics, did not suit with his plain dealing, it
is

is certain, he never could advise a Prince to hold a conduct that should grieve and disoblige his old friends, in hope of getting new ones, and make all his old enemies rejoice. But, however his malicious prosecutors afterwards scandalized him, as being the author of such counsels, and objected to him what was their own advice and practice, he really thought this kind of conduct weakened the hands, and tended to the subversion of any government. And the success has approved this judgment; for in the very inconstant and variable administration under that King, it was found by experience, and to this day the memorials of it are extant, that he had quiet and calm days, or more rough and boisterous weather, as he favoured or discountenanced his own *party*; called indeed a *party* by the enemies of it, upon a levelling principle of allowing no distinctions; though all who have contended against it were properly but *parties*; whilst that was then, and is still, on the advantage-ground of being established by the laws, and incorporated into the government.

By degrees your Majesty is brought, in the course of this History, as it were to the top of some exalted height, from whence you may behold all the errors and misfortunes of the time past with advantage to yourself; may view armies drawn up, and battles fought, without your part of the danger; and, by the experience
of

of former misfortunes, establish your own security.

It seems to be a situation not unlike that of the temple of wisdom in Lucretius; from whence he advises his readers to look down on all the vanity and hurry of the world. And as that philosophical poet does very movingly describe the pursuits of those whom he justly styles miserable men, distracting themselves in wearisome contentions about the business and greatness of an empty world; so does this noble historian, with true and evident deductions from one cause and event to another, and such an agreeable thread of entertainment, that one is never content to give over reading, bring your Majesty to an easy ascent over all the knowledge of those miserable times; from whence, not in speculation only, but really and experimentally, you may look down on all the folly, and madness, and wickedness of those secret contrivances, and open violences, whereby the nation, as well as the crown, was brought to desolation; and see how falsely and weakly those great and busy disturbers of peace pretended reformation and religion, and to be seeking God in every one of their rebellious and sinful actions; whereas God was not to be found in their thunder, nor their earthquakes, that seemed to shake the foundations of the world; but in the still voice of peace he came at last, to defeat and disappoint all their inventions:

inventions: that God, to whom vengeance belongs, arose, and shewed himself in defence of that righteous cause of the Crown and Church; which your Majesty will observe to have been combined against, fought with, overthrown, and in the end raised and re-established together. *Now these things happened for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition.*

It is now most humbly submitted to your Majesty's judgment, whether the consideration of these matters, set forth in this History, be not the most useful prospect, not for yourself only, but your noblest train, your great Council, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in Parliament assembled.

When your Majesty is so attended, by God's blessing, no power on earth will be able to disappoint your wisdom, or resist your will. And there may be need of all this power and authority, to preserve and defend your subjects, as well as your crown, from the like distractions and invasions. There may want the concurrence of a Parliament to prevent the return of the same mischievous practices, and to restrain the madness of men of the same principles in this age, as destroyed the last; such as think themselves even more capable than those in the last, to carry on the like wicked designs; such as take themselves to be informed, even from this History, how to mend the mistakes then committed by the principal directors on that side,
and

and by a more refined skill in wickedness to be able once again to overthrow the monarchy, and then to perpetuate the destruction of it.

There is no doubt, Madam, but every thing that is represented to your Majesty of this nature will find a party ready to deny it; that will join hand in hand to assure the world there is no such thing. It is a common cause, and it is their interest, if they can, to persuade men, that it is only the heat and warmth of High-Church inventions, that suggest such fears and jealousies.

But let any impartial person judge, to whom all the libertines of the republican party are like to unite themselves; and whether it is imaginable, that the established government, either in Church or State, can be strengthened, or served by them. They must go to the enemies of both, and pretend there is no such thing as a republican party in England, that they may be the less observed, and go on the more secure in their destructive projects.

They can have no better game to play, than to declare; that none but Jacobites alarm the nation with these apprehensions; and that Jacobites are much greater enemies than themselves to your Majesty. Let that be so: no man, in his wits, can say any thing to your Majesty in behalf of any, let them be who they will, that will not own your government, and wish the prosperity

prosperity and the happiness of it, and contribute all they can to maintain it.

But whilst these men most falsely asperse the sons of the Church of England for being Jacobites, let them rather clear themselves of what they were lately charged before your Majesty, that there are societies of them which celebrate the horrid thirtieth of January, with an execrable solemnity of scandalous mirth; and that they have seminaries, and a sort of universities, in England, maintained by great contributions, where the fiercest doctrines against monarchical and episcopal government are taught and propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to your Majesty's title, name, and family.

This seems to be a torrent that cannot be resisted but by the whole legislative authority; neither can your throne, which they are thus perpetually assailing or undermining, be supported by a less power.

In these difficulties your great Council will, over and above their personal duty to your Majesty, take themselves to be more concerned to be zealous in the defence of your royal prerogative, as well as of their own just rights and privileges, in that it was under the name and style of a Parliament, though very unjustly so called, that all the mischiefs mentioned in this History were brought upon the kingdom.

They best can discover the craft and subtilty

formerly used in those consultations ; which first inveigled and drew men in from one wickedness to another, before they were aware of what they were doing ; and engaged them to think themselves not safe, but by doing greater evils than they began with.

They will, no doubt, be filled with a just indignation against all that hypocrisy and villainy, by which the English name and nation were exposed to the censure of the rest of the world : they only can be able to present your Majesty with remedies proper and adequate to all these evils, by which God may be glorified, and the ancient constitution of this government retrieved and supported.

There is one calamity more, that stands in need of a cure from your own sovereign hand. It is in truth a peculiar calamity fallen most heavily on this age, which though it took its chief rise from the disorderly, dissolute times of those wars, and has monstrously increased ever since, yet was never owned so much as now, and that is a barefaced contempt and disuse of all religion whatsoever. And indeed what could so much feigned sanctity, and so much real wickedness, during that rebellion begun in 1641, produce else in foolish men's hearts, than to say, *There is no God ?*

This irreligion was then pretended to be covered with a more signal morality and precise strictness in life and conversation, which was to be a recompence for the loss of Christianity.

But

But now, even that shadow of godliness and virtue is fled too. Atheism and profaneness, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a prostitution of all manners in contempt of all government.

This profaneness and impiety seems, next to the horrible confusions of the late rebellion, to have gained ground chiefly by this method, that, when many who have been in authority have not, on several accounts, been heartily affected to the support of the Church established by law, there has crept in, by little and little, a liberty against all religion. For where the chief advisers or managers of public affairs have inclined to alterations, which the established rules have not countenanced, they durst not cause the laws to be put in execution, for fear of turning the force of them on themselves; so their next refuge has been to suffer men to observe no discipline or government at all.

Thus the Church of England, put to nurse, as it were, sometimes to such as have been inclined to Popery, and sometimes to other sects, and sometimes to men indifferent to all religion, hath been in danger of being starved, or overlaid, by all of them; and the ill consequence has redounded not only to the members of that Communion, but to all the professors of Christianity itself.

Whoever have ventured to give warning of these wicked designs and practices, have been rendered as persons of ill temper and very bad affections.

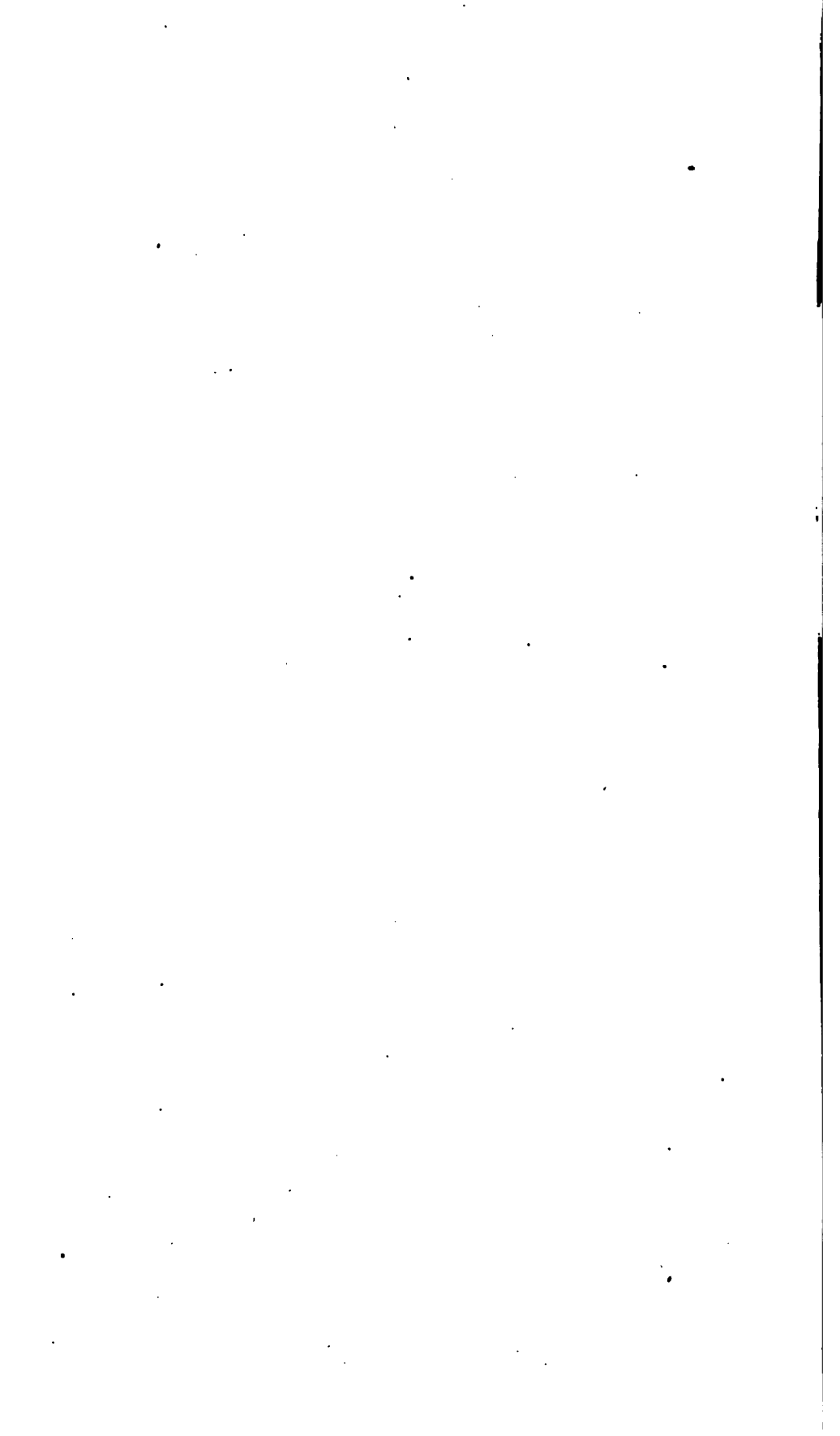
affections. They that have been in credit and authority, have been frequently inclined to be favourable to the men complained of; it has been offered on their behalf, that their intentions were good; and that it was even the interest of the government to cover their principles, whatever might be the consequences of them.

Thus these mischiefs have been still growing, and no laws have hitherto reached them; and, possibly, they are become incapable of a remedy; unless your Majesty's great example of piety and virtue shall have sufficient influence to amend them: no honest man can say it is not reasonable, and even necessary to watch them; and that, in compassion to your subjects, as well as justice to yourself. This History hath shewn your Majesty their fruits in the late times, by which you shall know them still; for your Majesty well remembers who has said, that

Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles.

That God may give your Majesty a discerning spirit, a wise and understanding heart, to judge aright of all things that belong to your peace; that he may enable you to subdue your enemies abroad by successful counsels and arms, and to reduce your ill willers at home by prudent laws, administered with the meekness of wisdom; that he would give you length of days in one hand, and riches and honour in the other; that you, in your days, may have the glory to
restore

reftore good nature (for which the Englifh nation was formerly fo celebrated) and good manners, as well as the fincere profeffion and univerfal practice of the true religion, in your kingdoms ; and that his almighty power may defend you with his favourable kindnefs as with a fhield, againft all your adverfaries of every kind, are the zealous, conftant, and devout prayers of fo many millions, that it were the higheft prefumption in any one perfon, to fubfcribe a particular name to fo univerfal a concern.



BOOK X.

*Wherefore do I see every man with his hands on his loins,
as a woman in travail, and all faces are turned into pale-
ness?*

*O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet?
put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest, and be still.*

Woe be to the shepherds of Israel, that do feed themselves! should not the shepherds feed the flocks?

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B

enough

enough that they should entertain any other hopes, and was not himself without hope, that, by satisfying the ambition and interest of particular men, he might mitigate the rigour of the Presbyterian faction; and to that purpose Monsieur Montrevil was gone from London to the Scottish army, then before Newark, having taken Oxford in his way, and so given an account to the King of his observations, and received from him such information and instruction as was necessary for the work in hand.

In the mean time no ways were left untried to draw such a body of an army together, as might enable his Majesty to make some attempt upon the enemy; and if he could, by all possible endeavours, have drawn out of all his garrisons left, a force of five thousand horse and foot, (which at that time seemed a thing not to be despaired of), he did more desire to have lost his life, in some signal attempt upon any part of the enemy's army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foresaw he was ever like to obtain by treaty; and he was not out of hope of a body of five thousand foot to be landed in Cornwall, which his letters from France confidently promised, and which had been so much expected, and depended upon by the Prince, that it kept him from transporting himself into Scilly, till Fairfax was marched (as hath been said before) within little more than twenty miles of Pendennis. For Sir Dudley Wyatt had been sent expressly from the Lord Jermyn, to assure the Prince, that such a body of five thousand foot were actually raised under the command of Ruvignie, and should be embarked for Pendennis within less than a month; and the Lord Jermyn, in a postscript to that letter which he writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by Sir Dudley Wyatt, wished him not to be too strict in the computation

tion of the month from the date of the letter, because there might be accidents of winds at that season; but he desired him to be confident, that they should be all landed within the expiration of six weeks, and by that measure to conduct the resolutions, and to decline fighting upon that account. After all this, it is as true, that there was never a man at this time levied or designed for that expedition, only the name of Ruvignie (because he was of the religion, and known to be a good officer) had been mentioned, in some loose discourse by the Cardinal, as one who would be very fit to command any troops which might be sent into England for the relief of the King; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be warrant enough to give both the King and the Prince that unreasonable expectation; the which and many other of that great lord's negotiations and transactions, the succeeding and long continuing misfortunes, kept from being ever after examined, or considered and reflected upon.

The Prince stayed in the isle of Scilly from Wednesday the 4th of March till Thursday the 16th of April, the wind having continued so contrary, that the Lords Capel and Hopton came not to him from Cornwall till the Saturday before; at which time likewise arrived a trumpeter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, with such a message from the Parliament to the Prince as might well be called a summons, rather than an invitation; yet it was well it came not to Pendennis, where it would have found a party among the Prince's servants. The next morning, being Sunday, a fleet of about twenty-seven or twenty-eight sail of ships encompassed the island; but within three or four hours, by a very notable tempest, which continued two days, they were dispersed. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakness of the place, if it

B 2

should

should be attacked by any considerable strength, (which both by the message and the attendants of it they had reason to apprehend), together with the extreme scarcity of provisions in that island, which had not been, in the six weeks the Prince stayed there, supplied with victual for two days out of Cornwall, neither had there been any returns from France upon the Lord Colepepper's application to the Queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the season of the year, his Highness inclined to remove to Jersey; against which nothing could be objected of weight, but the consideration of the King's being at London (which was strongly reported still) in a treaty; and then, that his Highness's remove, especially if by distress of weather he should be forced into France, might be prejudicial to the King; and therefore it would be reasonable, first to expect some advertisement from his Majesty in what condition he was. Hereupon his Highness produced in council this ensuing letter from the King, which was writ shortly after the battle of Naseby, and which he had concealed till that morning from all the lords, and which truly, I think, was the only secret he had ever kept from the four he had trusted.

Hereford, the 23d of June, 1645.

“ Charles,

A letter
from the
King to the
Prince,
written
from Here-
ford, June
23, 1645.

“ My late misfortunes remember me to command
“ you that which I hope you shall never have occasion
“ to obey; it is this: if I should at any time be taken
“ prisoner by the rebels, I command you (upon my
“ blessing) never to yield to any conditions, that are
“ dishonourable, unsafe for your person, or derogatory
“ to regal authority, upon any considerations whatsoever,
“ though it were for the saving of my life; which in
“ such

"such a case, I am most confident, is in greatest secu-
 "rity by your constant resolution, and not a whit the
 "more in danger for their threatening, unless thereby
 "you should yield to their desires. But let their reso-
 "lutions be never so barbarous, the saving of my life by
 "complying with them would make me end my days
 "with torture, and disquiet of mind, not giving you
 "my blessing, and cursing all the rest who are consent-
 "ing to it. But your constancy will make me die
 "cheerfully, praising God for giving me so gallant a
 "son, and heaping my blessings on you; which you
 "may be confident (in such a case) will light on you.
 "I charge you to keep this letter still safe by you,
 "until you shall have cause to use it; and then, and
 "not till then, to shew it to all your Council; it being
 "my command to them, as well as you; whom I pray
 "God to make as prosperously glorious as any of the
 "predecessors ever were of

"Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

After the reading this letter, and a consideration of
 the probability that the rebels would make some at-
 tempt upon his Highness there, and the impossibility of
 resisting such an attempt in the condition the island then
 stood, it was by his Highness with great earnestness
 proposed, and by the whole Council (except the Earl of
 Berkshire) unanimously advised, that the opportunity
 should be then laid hold on, whilst the rebels' ships
 were scattered; and that his Highness should embark
 for Jersey; which he did accordingly on Thursday; The Prince
 and on the next day, being the 17th of April, with of Wales
 a prosperous wind landed at Jersey; from whence, embarks
 the same night, they sent an express to the Queen, from Scilly,
 of the lands at
 Prince's safe arrival in that island; and likewise letters Jersey April 17.

to St. Maloes, and Havre de Grace, to advertise the Lord Colepepper of the same; who received the information very seasonably, lying then at Havre with two frigates in expectation of a wind for Scilly, and with command to the Prince from the Queen, immediately to remove from thence. After the Prince had taken an account of this island, both himself and all their lordships were of opinion, that it was a place of the greatest security, benefit, and conveniency to repose in, that could have been desired, and wished for; till upon a clear information, and observation of the King's condition, and the state of England, he should find a fit opportunity to act; and the Prince himself seemed to have the greatest aversion and resolution against going into France, except in case of danger of surprisal by the rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr. Progers, who had been dispatched before (presently upon the Lord Colepepper's coming) from Paris for Scilly, being hindered by contrary winds till he received the news of the Prince's being at Jersey, came thither, and brought this following letter from her Majesty to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in cipher.

Paris, the 5th of April, 1646.

A letter
from the
Queen to
the Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer
concerning
the Prince's
removal in-
to France.

“ My Lord Colepepper must witness for me that I
 “ have patiently, and at large, heard all that he could say
 “ concerning the condition of Scilly, and all that has
 “ been proposed for rendering of the Prince of Wales's
 “ abode there safe; yet I must confess to you, that I am
 “ so far from being satisfied in that point, that I shall
 “ not sleep in quiet until I shall hear that the Prince of
 “ Wales shall be removed from thence. It is confessed,
 “ it is not sufficiently fortified, and is accessible in divers
 “ places; and the manning the works will require a
 “ thousand

“ thousand men more than you have, or, for ought I
“ see, can procure; neither can you be confident, that
“ the loss of Cornwall may not suddenly have a
“ dangerous influence upon that garrison; most of
“ your soldiers being of that country. The power of
“ the Parliament at sea is so great, that you cannot rely
“ upon the seasonable and safe conveyance of such pro-
“ portions of provisions, as so great a garrison will re-
“ quire: I need not remember you of what importance
“ to the King, and all his party, the safety of the
“ Prince’s person is; if he should fall into the rebels’
“ hands, the whole would thereby become desperate;
“ therefore I must importunately conjure you to intend
“ this work, as the principal service you can do to the
“ King, me, or the Prince. Colepepper will tell you
“ how I have strained to assist you with present provi-
“ sions, shipping, and money, necessary for the Prince’s
“ remove to Jersey; where, be confident of it, he shall
“ want nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I
“ have moved the Queen Regent to give assurance,
“ that if the Prince, in his way to Jersey, should be ne-
“ cessitated, by contrary winds, or the danger of the
“ Parliament shipping, to touch in France, he should
“ have all freedom and assistance from hence, in his
“ immediate passage thither; which is granted with
“ great cheerfulness and civility, and will be subscribed
“ under the hands of the French King and Queen, my
“ brother, and Cardinal Mazarine: therefore I hope all
“ scruples are now satisfied. Colepepper is hastening to
“ you with good frigates; but if you shall find any
“ danger before their arrival, I shall rely upon your care
“ not to omit any opportunity to prevent that danger,
“ according to the resolution in council, which Cole-
“ pepper hath acquainted me with; for which I thank
“ you.

“ you. I need not tell you how acceptable this service
“ will be to the King, who in every letter presses me to
“ write to you concerning my son’s safety; nor that I
“ am, and always will be, most constantly,

“ Your assured friend, *Henriette Marie R.*”

The Prince and Council were very glad at the receipt of this letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertised at their first landing there, that there was still an expectation of the Prince in France; and that he would be speedily importuned from thence; which they could not believe: but as soon as the Lord Colepepper came, they plainly discerned that letter had been written upon advice to Scilly, and upon foreseeing that an immediate journey into France would not have been submitted to; and that the instrument mentioned for his Highness’s quiet and uninterrupted passage through France to Jersey, was only a colour, the sooner to have invited the Prince to have landed there, if there had been any accidents in his passage; but that the resolution was, that he should not then have come to Jersey, as it was now, that he should quickly come from thence; to which purpose, shortly after, came most importunate letters from the Queen; and it seems, howsoever all the late letters from the King to the Prince before his coming out of England, were for his repair into Denmark, his Majesty, upon what reasons I know not, conceived his Highness to be in France; for after his coming to Jersey, this following letter was sent to him, by the Lord Jermyn, in whose cipher it was writ, and deciphered by his lordship.

Oxford,

Oxford, the 22d of March.

“ Charles,

“ Hoping that this will find you safe with your mother, I think fit to write this short but necessary letter to you : then know, that your being where you are, safe from the power of the rebels, is, under God, either my greatest security, or my certain ruin. For your constancy to religion, obedience to me, and to the rules of honour, will make these insolent men begin to hearken to reason, when they shall see their injustice not like to be crowned with quiet : but, if you depart from those grounds for which I have all this time fought, then your leaving this kingdom will be (with too much probability) called sufficient proof for many of the slanders heretofore laid upon me : wherefore, once again, I command you upon my blessing to be constant to your religion, neither hearkening to Roman superstitions, nor the seditious and schismatical doctrines of the Presbyterians and Independents ; for, know that a persecuted Church is not thereby less pure, though less fortunate. For all other things, I command you to be totally directed by your mother, and (as subordinate to her) by the remainder of that Council which I put to you, at your parting from hence : and so God bless you.

A letter
from the
King to the
Prince.

“ *Charles R.*”

This letter, and the very passionate commands from the Queen, together with what was privately said to his Highness by the Lord Colepepper, who from his being at Paris had changed his former opinions, and was (though he expressed it tenderly ; finding a general aversion) positive for his going, wrought so far on the Prince, that he discovered an inclination to the journey ; where-

whereupon the Council presented at large to him, the inconveniences and dangers that naturally might be supposed would attend such a resolution : they remembered the carriage of the French since the beginning of this rebellion ; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them ; and that they had never, in the least degree, assisted the King ; that there was no evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the rebels ; that it would be necessary they should make some public declaration on his Majesty's behalf, before the Heir apparent of the Crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that it ought to be thoroughly weighed and considered ; before executed ; and so, in the end they prevailed with the Prince (since at that time it was not known where the King was) to send the Lords Capel and Colepepper again to the Queen, to present the weightiness of the matter to her Majesty. One of their instructions was as follows.

The Lords Capel and Colepepper sent to Paris, to dissuade the Queen from sending for the Prince into France.

Their instructions, and arrival at Paris.

“ You shall inform her Majesty, that we have, with
 “ all duty and submission, considered her letters to us
 “ concerning our speedy repair into the kingdom of
 “ France ; the which direction we conceive to be
 “ grounded upon her Majesty's apprehension of danger
 “ to our person by any residence here ; the contrary
 “ whereof, we believe, her Majesty will be no sooner
 “ advertised of, than she will hold us excused for not
 “ giving that present obedience which we desire always
 “ to yield to the least intimation of her Majesty ; and
 “ therefore, you shall humbly acquaint her Majesty,
 “ that we have great reason to believe this island to be
 “ defensible against a greater force, than we suppose
 “ probable

“ probable to be brought against it. That the inhabitants of the island express as much cheerfulness, unanimity, and resolution for the defence of our person, by their whole carriage, and particularly by a protestation voluntarily undertaken by them, as can be desired; and that, if, contrary to expectation, the rebels should take the island, we can from the castle (a place in itself of very great strength) with the least hazard remove ourselves to France; which in case of imminent danger we resolve to do. That our security being thus stated, we beseech her Majesty to consider, whether it be not absolutely necessary, before any thought of our remove from hence be entertained, that we have as clear an information as may be got, of the condition of our royal father, and the affections of England; of the resolutions of the Scots in England, and the strength of the Lord Mountrose in Scotland; of the affairs in Ireland, and the conclusion of the treaty there; that so, upon a full and mature prospect upon the whole, we may so dispose of our person as may be most for the benefit and advantage of our royal father; or patiently attend such an alteration and conjuncture, as may administer a greater advantage than is yet offered; and whether our remove out of the dominions of our royal father (except upon such a necessity, or apparent visible convenience) may not have an influence upon the affections of the three kingdoms to the disadvantage of his Majesty.”

Within two days after the two lords were gone for Paris, Sir Dudley Wyatt arrived with the news of the King's being gone out of Oxford, before the break of day, only with two servants, and to what place uncertain: it was believed by the Queen, as she said in her letter to the Prince, that he was gone for Ireland, or to the

the Scots ; and therefore her Majesty renewed her command for the Prince's immediate repair into France : whereas the chief reason before was, that he would put himself into the Scots' hands ; and therefore it was necessary that his Highness should be in France, to go in the head of those forces which should be immediately sent out of that kingdom to assist his Majesty.

The two lords found the Queen much troubled, that the Prince himself came not ; she declared herself " not to be moved with any reasons that were, or could be, given for his stay ; and that her resolution was positive and unalterable : " yet they prevailed with her, to respite any positive declaration till she might receive full advertisement of the King's condition ; who was by this time known to be in the Scottish army.

It is remembered before, that the Prince, upon his arrival at Scilly, sent a gentleman to Ireland to the Marquis of Ormond, as well that he might be punctually informed of the state of that kingdom, (of which there were several reports), as that he might receive from thence a company or two of foot, for the better guard of that island ; which he foresaw would be necessary, whether he should remain there or not. The gentleman had a very quick passage to Dublin, and came thither very quickly after the peace was agreed upon with the Irish Roman Catholics, and found the Lord Digby there ; who, after his enterprise, and disbanding in Scotland, had first transported himself into the isle of Man, and from thence into Ireland ; where he had been received, with great kindness and generosity, by the Marquis of Ormond, as a man who had been in so eminent a post in the King's council and affairs. He was a person of so rare a composition by nature and by art, (for nature alone could never have reached to it), that he
was

was so far from being ever dismayed upon any misfortune, (and greater variety of misfortunes never befel any man), that he quickly recollected himself so vigorously, that he did really believe his condition to be improved by that ill accident; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new stock of reputation and honour; and so he no sooner heard of the Prince's being in the isle of Scilly, and of his condition, and the condition of that place, than he presently concluded, that the Prince's presence in Ireland would settle and compose all the factions there; reduce the kingdom to his Majesty's service; and oblige the Pope's Nuntio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious designs. The Lord Lieutenant had so good an opinion of the expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that, when his Highness had been forced to leave England, he had rather chosen to have made Ireland than Scilly his retreat; but, being a wise man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might increase those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great importance; but, forthwith, having a couple of frigates ready, he caused an hundred men with their officers to be presently put on board, according to his Highness's desire; and the Lord Digby (who always concluded, that that was fit to be done which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himself on board those vessels; resolving, that, upon the strength of his own reason, he should be able to persuade the Prince, and the Council which attended him, forthwith to quit Scilly, and to repair to Dublin; which, he did not doubt, if brought to pass in that way, would have been grateful to the Lord Lieutenant. But, by the sudden remove of the Prince from
Scilly,

The Lord
Digby ar-
rives at Jer-
sey from
Ireland.

Scilly, the two frigates from Dublin missed finding him there ; and that lord, whose order they were obliged to observe, made all the haste he could to Jersey ; where he found the Prince, with many other of his friends who attended his Highness, the two lords being gone but the day before to attend the Queen : he lost no time in informing his Highness of the happy state and condition of Ireland ; that the peace was concluded ; and an army of twelve thousand men ready to be transported into England ; of the great zeal and affection the Lord Lieutenant had for his service ; and that if his Highness would repair thither, he should find the whole kingdom devoted to him ; and thereupon positively advised him, without farther deliberation, to put himself aboard those frigates ; which were excellent sailers, and fit for his secure transportation.

The Prince told him, “ that it was a matter of greater importance, than was fit to be executed upon so short deliberation ; that he was no sooner arrived at Jersey, than he received letters from the Queen his mother, requiring him forthwith to come to Paris, where all things were provided for his reception ; that he had sent two of the lords of the Council to the Queen, to excuse him for not giving ready obedience to her commands ; and to assure her that he was in a place of unquestionable security ; in which he might safely expect to hear from the King his father before he took any other resolution : that it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into Ireland, before his messenger’s return from Paris ; in which time, he might reasonably hope to hear from the King himself ; and so wished him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination.” This reasonable answer gave him no satisfaction ; he commended the Prince’s averfeness from going into France ;

France; " which, he said, was the most pernicious
" counsel that ever could be given; that it was a thing
" the King his father abhorred, and never would con-
" sent to; and that he would take upon himself to
" write to the Queen, and to give her such solid advice
" and reasons, that should infallibly convert her from
" that desire, and that should abundantly satisfy her
" that his going into Ireland was absolutely necessary;
" but that a little delay in the execution of it might
" deprive him of all the fruit which was to be expected
" from that journey; and therefore renewed his advice
" and importunity, for losing no more time, but imme-
" diately to embark;" which when he saw was not
like to prevail with his Highness, he repaired to one of
those of the Privy Council who attended the Prince,
with whom he had a particular friendship, and lamented
to him the loss of such an occasion, which would inevi-
tably restore the King; who would be equally ruined
if the Prince went into France; of which he spoke
with all the detestation imaginable; and said, " he
" was so far satisfied in his conscience of the benefit
" that would redound from the one, and the ruin which
" would inevitably fall out by the other, that, he said,
" if the person with whom he held this conference,
" would concur with him, he would carry the Prince
" into Ireland, even without and against his consent."
The other person answered, " that it was not to be at-
tempted without his consent; nor could he imagine
" it possible to bring it to pass, if they should both en-
deavour it." He replied, " that he would invite the
" Prince on board the frigates to a collation; and that
" he knew well he could so commend the vessels to him,
" that his own curiosity would easily invite him to a
" view of them; and that as soon as he was on board,
" he

“he would cause the sails to be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into Ireland.”

The other was very angry with him for entertaining such imaginations; and told him, “they neither agreed with his wisdom nor his duty;” and left him in despair of his conjunction, and, at the same time, of being able to compass it. He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination, but in the instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the same vigour; and resolved, with all possible expedition, to find himself at Paris, not making the least question but that he should convert the Queen from any farther thought of sending for the Prince into France, and as easily obtain her consent and approbation for his repairing into Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the Queen’s help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to send a good supply of money by him into Ireland; by which he should acquire a most universal reputation, and be the most welcome man alive to the Lord Lieutenant: and transported with this happy auguration, he left Jersey; leaving at the same time his two ships, and his soldiers, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality, (who, upon his desire, and many promises, had kept him company from Ireland), without one penny of money to subsist on during his absence.

Thence he goes into France.

His transactions there with the Queen of England and Cardinal Mazzarine.

As soon as he came to Paris, and had seen the Queen, (whom he found very well inclined to do all she could for the relief of Ireland, but resolute to have the Prince her son immediately with her, notwithstanding all the reasons pressed against it by the lords of the King’s Council, who had been sent from Jersey), he attended the Cardinal; who understood him very well, and knew his foible; and received him with all the ceremony, and demonstration of respect, he could possibly express; entered

entered upon the discourse of England ; celebrated the part which he had acted upon that stage, in so many actions of courage, and sagacity, of the highest prudence and circumspection, with an indefatigable industry and fidelity. He told him, “ that France found too late
 “ their own error ; that they had been very well content
 “ to see the King’s great puissance weakened by his domestic troubles, which they wished only should keep
 “ him from being able to hurt his neighbours ; but that
 “ they never had desired to see him at the mercy of his
 “ own rebels, which they saw now was like to be the
 “ case ; and they were therefore resolved to wed his interest in such a way and manner, as the Queen of
 “ England should desire ;” in which he well knew how much her Majesty would depend upon his lordship’s counsel.

The Cardinal said, “ it was absolutely necessary, since
 “ the Crown of France resolved to wed the King’s interest, that the person of the Prince of Wales should reside in France ; that the method he had thought of
 “ proceeding in was, that the Queen of England should
 “ make choice of such a person, whom she thought best
 “ affected, and best qualified for such an employment,
 “ whom the King of France would immediately send as
 “ his extraordinary ambassador to the King and to the
 “ Parliament ; that he should govern himself wholly by
 “ such instructions as the Queen should give him ;
 “ which, he knew, would be his lordship’s work to prepare ; that all things should be made ready as soon as
 “ the Queen would nominate the ambassador ; and that,
 “ upon the arrival of the Prince of Wales in any part of
 “ France, as soon as notice should be sent to the Court
 “ of it, (for which due preparation should be made), the
 “ ambassador should be in the same manner dispatched

" for England, with one only instruction from France;
 " which should be, that he should demand a speedy
 " answer from the Parliament, whether they would sa-
 " tisfy the demands the French Court had made?
 " which if they should refuse to do, he should forth-
 " with, in the King his master's name, declare war
 " against them, and immediately leave the kingdom,
 " and return home; and then there should be quickly
 " such an army ready, as was worthy for the Prince
 " of Wales to venture his own person in; and that
 " he should have the honour to redeem and restore his
 " father."

This discourse ended, the Lord Digby wanted not
 language to extol the generosity and the magnanimity
 of the resolution, and to pay the Cardinal all his com-
 pliments in his own coin, and, from thence, to enter
 upon the condition of Ireland; in which the Cardinal
 presently interrupted him, and told him, " he knew well
 " he was come from thence, and meant to return thi-
 " ther, and likewise the carriage of the Nuncio. That
 " the Marquis of Ormond was too brave a gentleman,
 " and had merited too much of his master to be de-
 " ferted, and France was resolved not to do its business
 " by halves, but to give the King's affairs an entire re-
 " lief in all places; that he should carry a good supply
 " of money with him into Ireland, and that arms and
 " ammunition should be speedily sent after him, and
 " such direction to their agent there, as should draw off
 " all the Irish from the Nuncio, who had not entirely
 " given themselves up to the Spanish interest."

The noble person had that which he most desired;
 he was presently converted, and undertook to the
 Queen, that he would presently convert all at Jersey;
 and that the Prince should obey all her commands;
 and

and entered into consultation with her upon the election of an ambaffador, and what instructions should be given him; which he took upon himself to prepare. Monsieur Bellievre was named by the Queen, whom the Cardinal had designed for that office. The Cardinal approved the instructions, and caused six thousand pistoles to be paid to him, who was to go to Ireland; and though it was a much less sum than he had promised himself, from the magnificent expressions the Cardinal had used to him, yet it provided well for his own occasions; so he left the Queen with his usual professions, and confidence, and accompanied those lords to Jersey, who were to attend upon his Highness with her Majesty's orders for the Prince's repair into France; for the advancement whereof the Cardinal was so solicitous, that he writ a letter to the old Prince of Condé, (which he knew he would forthwith send to the Queen; as he did), in which he said, "that he had received very certain advertisement out of England, that there were some persons about the Prince of Wales in Jersey, who had undertaken to deliver his Highness up into the hands of the Parliament for twenty thousand pistoles;" and this letter was forthwith sent by the Queen to overtake the lords, that it might be shewed to the Prince; and that they who attended upon him might discern what would be thought of them, if they dissuaded his Highness from giving a present obedience to his mother's commands.

As soon as they came to Jersey, the Lord Digby used all the means he could to persuade his friend to concur in his advice for the Prince's immediate repair into France. He told him all that had passed between the Cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the expressions of the high value his Eminence had of his particu-

lar person : “ that an ambaffador was chosen by his advice, and his instructions drawn by him, from no part of which the ambaffador durst swerve;” (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he himself had nominated the ambaffador, and that his instructions would be exactly observed by him ; so great a power he had always over himself, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him;) “ that a war would be presently proclaimed upon their refusal to do what the ambaffador required, and that there wanted nothing to the expediting this great affair, but the Prince’s repairing into France without farther delay; there being no other question concerning that matter, than whether his Highness should stay in Jersey: where there could be no question of his security, until he could receive express direction from the King his father ; and therefore he conjured his friend to concur in that advice ; which would be very grateful to the Queen, and be attended with much benefit to himself;” telling him “ how kind her Majesty was to him, and how confident she was of his service, and that if he should be of another opinion, it would not hinder the Prince from going ; who, he knew, was resolved to obey his mother;” and so concluded his discourse, with those arguments which he thought were like to make most impression on him ; and gave him the instructions by which the ambaffador was to be guided.

His friend, who in truth loved him very heartily, though no man better knew his infirmities, told him, “ whatever the Prince would be disposed to do, he could not change his opinion in point of counsel, until the King’s pleasure might be known :” he put him in mind, “ how he had been before deceived at
“ Oxford

“ Oxford by the Conte de Harcourt, who was an ambassador likewise, as we then thought, named by ourselves, and whose instructions he had likewise drawn ; and yet, he could not but well remember how foully that business had been managed, and how disobligingly he himself had been treated by that ambassador ; and therefore he could not but wonder, that the same artifices should again prevail with him ; and that he could imagine that the instructions he had drawn would be at all considered, or pursued, farther than they might contribute to what the Cardinal for the present designed ; of the integrity whereof, they had no evidence, but had reason enough to suspect it.”

The Lord Capel, and the Lord Colepepper, stayed at Paris with the Queen full three weeks ; having only prevailed with her to suspend her present commands for the Prince's remove from Jersey, until she should have clear intelligence where the King was, and how he was treated, though she declared a positive resolution that his Highness should come to Paris, let the intelligence be what it could be ; and, in the end, they were well assured that his Majesty had put himself into the Scottish army as it lay before Newark ; and that, as soon as he came thither, he had caused that garrison to deliver the town into the hands of the Scots ; and that thereupon the Scots marched presently away to Newcastle : that they had pressed the King to do many things, which he had absolutely refused to do ; and that thereupon they had put very strict guards upon his Majesty, and would not permit any man to repair to him, or to speak with him ; so that his Majesty looked upon himself as a prisoner, and resolved to make another escape from them as soon as he could. Mr. Ashburnham, who attended upon him in his journey from Oxford as his sole

servant, was forbid to come any more near him ; and if he had not put himself on board a vessel, then at Newcastle, and bound for France, the Scots would have delivered him up to the Parliament. Monsieur Montrevil, the French envoy, pretended that they were so incensed against him for briskly expostulating with them for their ill treatment of the King, that it was no longer safe for him to remain in their quarters, and more dangerous to return to London ; and therefore, he had likewise procured a Dutch ship to land him in France, and was come to Paris before the lords returned to Jersey.

The Queen thought now she had more reason to be confirmed in her former resolution for the speedy remove of the Prince, and it was pretended that he had brought a letter from the King, which was deciphered by the Lord Jermyn ; in which he said, “ that he did “ believe that the Prince could not be safe any where “ but with the Queen ; and therefore wished, that if he “ were not there already, he should be speedily sent “ for ;” and Montrevil professed to have a message by word of mouth to the same purpose : whereas Mr. Ashburnham, who left the King but the day before Montrevil, and was as entirely trusted by the King as any man in England, brought no such message ; and confessed to the Lord Capel, “ that he thought it very “ pernicious to the King that the Prince should come “ into France in that conjuncture, and before it was “ known how the Scots would deal with him ; and that “ the King’s opinion of the convenience of his coming “ into France, could proceed from nothing but the “ thought of his insecurity in Jersey.” The Lord Capel offered to undertake a journey himself to Newcastle, and to receive the King’s positive commands, which he was confident would be submitted to, and obeyed by all
the

the Council as well as by himself: but the Queen was positive, that, without any more delay, the Prince should immediately repair to her; and, to that purpose, she sent the Lord Jermyn (who was Governor of Jersey) together with the Lord Digby, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Wilmot, and other lords and gentlemen, who, with the two lords who had been sent to her by the Prince, should make haste to Jersey to see her commands executed. Whilst they are upon their journey thither, it will be seasonable to enquire how the King came to involve himself in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his liberty and freedom.

Monfieur Montrevil was a person utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourse or correspondence with him; so that what I shall say of him cannot proceed from affection or prejudice, nor if I shall say any thing for his vindication from those reproaches which he did, and does lie under, both with the English and Scottish nation, countenanced enough by the discountenance he received from the Cardinal after his return, when he was, after the first account he had given of his negociation, restrained from coming to the Court, and forbid to remain in Paris, and lay under a formed, declared dislike till his death; which with grief of mind shortly ensued. But as it is no unusual hard-heartedness in such chief ministers, to sacrifice such instruments, how innocent soever, to their own dark purposes, so it is probable, that temporary cloud would soon have vanished, and that it was only cast over him, that he might be thereby secluded from the conversation of the English Court; which must have been reasonably very inquisitive, and might thereby have discovered somewhat which the other Court was carefully to conceal: I say, if

A farther
account of
Monfieur
Montrevil's
negociation
with the
Scots.

what I here set down of that transaction, shall appear some vindication of that gentleman from those imputations under which his memory remains blasted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserved in history as the very soul of it, towards all persons who come to be mentioned in it; and since I have in my hands all the original letters which passed from him to the King, and the King's answers and directions thereupon, or such authentic copies thereof, as have been by myself examined with the originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to clear him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of those actions, which appear to have resulted from ingenuity, and upright intentions, how unsuccessful soever.

He was then a young gentleman of parts very equal to the trust the Cardinal reposed in him, and to the employment he gave him; and of a nature not inclined to be made use of in ordinary dissimulation and cozenage. Whilst he took his measures only from the Scottish commissioners at London, and from those Presbyterians whom he had opportunity to converse with there, he did not give the King the least encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any compliance from the one or the other, upon any cheaper price or condition than the whole alteration of the government of the Church by Bishops, and an entire conformity to the Covenant; and he used all the arguments which occurred to him, to persuade his Majesty that all other hopes of agreement with them were desperate; and when he saw his Majesty unmoveable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of war, before he would wound his peace of mind, and conscience, with such an odious

odious concession, he undertook that journey we mentioned in the end of the last year, to discover whether the same rude and rigid spirit, which governed those commissioners at Westminster, possessed also the chief officers of the Scottish army, and that committee of State that always remained with the army.

The Scottish army was then before Newark; and, in his passage thither, he waited upon the King at Oxford; and was confirmed in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his Majesty to give up the Church to the most impetuous demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be environed with; but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their ambition or their profit, which were always powerful and irresistible spells upon that party, he had ample authority and commission to comply with the most extravagant demands from persons like to make good what they undertook, except such propositions as might be mischievous to the Marquis of Mountrose; whom the King resolved never to desert, nor any who had joined with and assisted him; all which, he desired to unite to those who might now be persuaded to serve him. His Majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some persons who had then command in the Scottish army; of whose affections and inclinations to his service, he had as much confidence, at least, as he ought to have; and of their credit, and courage, and interest, a greater than was due to them.

When Montrevil came to the army, and after he had endeavoured to undeceive those who had been persuaded to believe, that a peremptory and obstinate insisting upon the alteration of the Church-government (the expectation and assurance whereof had indeed first enabled them

them to make that expedition) would at last prevail over the King's spirit, as it had done in Scotland, he found those in whom the power, at least the command of the army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the committee which presided in the counsels, rather devising and projecting expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he should believe that they stayed for the coming of the Lord Chancellor out of Scotland, who was daily expected, before they would declare their resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleased that the King offered, and desired to come to them, and remain in the army with them, if he might be secured of a good reception for himself, and for his servants who should attend him, and his friends who should resort to him; and the principal officers of the army spoke of that, as a thing they so much wished, that it could be in nobody's power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest power in the conduct of the most secret counsels, took pains to be thought to have much franker resolutions in that particular, than they thought yet seasonable to express in direct undertakings; and employed those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who had been recommended to him by the King, to assure him that he might confidently advise his Majesty to repair to the army, upon the terms himself had proposed; and that they would send a good body of their horse, to meet his Majesty at any place he should appoint to conduct him in safety to them. Upon which encouragement Montrevil prepared a paper to be signed by himself, and sent to the King as his engagement; and shewed it to those who had been most clear to him in their expressions of duty

duty to the King; which, being approved by them, he sent by the other who had appeared to him to be trusted by those who were in the highest trust to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excused themselves for being so reserved towards him, as being necessary in that conjuncture of their affairs, when there evidently appeared to be the most hostile jealousy between the Independent army and them. When the paper was likewise returned to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the King; which paper is here faithfully translated out of the original.

“ I do promise in the name of the King and Queen
 “ Regent, (my master and mistress), and by virtue of the
 “ powers that I have from their Majesties, that if the
 “ King of Great Britain shall put himself into the Scot-
 “ tish army, he shall be there received as their natural
 “ Sovereign; and that he shall be with them in all
 “ freedom of his conscience and honour; and that all
 “ such of his subjects and servants as shall be there
 “ with him, shall be safely and honourably protected in
 “ their persons; and that the said Scots shall really and
 “ effectually join with the said King of Great Britain,
 “ and also receive all such persons as shall come in unto
 “ him, and join with them for his Majesty’s preserva-
 “ tion: and that they shall protect all his Majesty’s party
 “ to the utmost of their power, as his Majesty will com-
 “ mand all those under his obedience to do the like
 “ to them; and that they shall employ their armies
 “ and forces, to assist his Majesty in the procuring of a
 “ happy and well grounded peace, for the good of his
 “ Majesty and his said kingdoms, and in recovery of his
 “ Majesty’s just rights. In witness whereof I have here-
 “ unto put my hand and seal this first of April 1646.

The paper
Montrevil
sent to the
King, being
a promise
for the
Scots re-
ceiving the
King, April
1st.

“ *De Montrevil, Résident pour sa Majestée*
 “ *tres Chrétienne en Ecossé.*”

Many

Many days had not passed after the sending that express, when he found such chagrin, and tergiversation, in some of those he had treated with, one man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a man authority to say that from him which the other still avowed he had done, that Montrevil thought himself obliged, with all speed, to advertise his Majesty of the foul change, and to dissuade him from venturing his person in the power of such men: but the express who carried that letter was taken prisoner; and though he made his escape, and preserved his letter, he could not proceed in his journey; and was compelled to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having informed the committee, what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a property by them to betray the King, and expressed a deep resentment of the injury done to the King his master, and to himself, in their receding from what they had promised, they appeared again to be of another temper, and very much to desire his Majesty's presence in the army; and to that purpose, they promised, as an unanimous resolution, "that they would send a considerable
" party of horse to meet his Majesty at Burton upon
" Trent; for that they could not advance farther with
" the whole party; but that some horse should be sent
" to wait upon his Majesty at Bosworth, which is the
" middle way between Burton and Harborough, whither
" they hoped his own horse would be able to convey
" him securely;" they desired "the King to appoint
" the day, and they would not fail to be there." They wished, "that when their troops should meet his Majesty, he would tell them that he was going into Scotland; upon which, they would find themselves obliged
" to attend him into their army, without being able to
" discover any thing of a treaty; of which the Parliament
" ment

“ment ought yet to receive no advertisement :” of all which Montrevil gave the King a very full and plain narration, together with what he had written before, by his letter of the 15th of the same April, to Secretary Nicholas ; and, in the same letter, he informed his Majesty, “that they did not desire that any of those forces which had followed the King’s party, should join with them, no nor so much as those horse that should have accompanied his Majesty, should remain in their army with him : that they had with much ado agreed, that the two Princes” (for his Majesty, upon Prince Rupert’s humble submission, was reconciled to both his nephews) “might follow the King, with such other of his servants as were not excepted from pardon ; and that they might stay with his Majesty until the Parliament of England should demand them ; in which case they should not refuse to deliver them ; but that they would first furnish them with some means of getting beyond seas.”

The King had proposed, “that there might be a union between them and the Marquis of Mountrose ; and that his forces might be joined with their army ;” which they had said, “they could not consent to, with reference to the person of Mountrose ; who, after so much blood spilt by him of many of the greatest families, they thought could not be safe among them :” whereupon the King had declared, that “he would send him his extraordinary ambassador into France ;” which they appeared not to contradict, but had now changed their mind ; of which Montrevil likewise gave an account in the same letter : “that they could not give their consent that the Marquis of Mountrose should go ambassador into France, but into any other place, he might ; and that they again, without limit-
“ing

“ing the time, insisted upon settling the Presbyter-
 “ian government;” and he concluded his letter with
 these words, “I will say no more but this, that his Ma-
 “jesty and you know the Scots better than I do : I re-
 “present these things nakedly to you, as I am obliged
 “to do; I have not taken upon me the boldness to
 “give any counsel to his Majesty; yet if he hath any
 “other refuge, or means to make better conditions, I
 “think he ought not to accept of these; but if he sees
 “all things desperate every where else, and that he and
 “his servants cannot be secure with his Parliament of
 “England, I dare yet assure him, that though he and
 “his servants may not be here with all that satisfaction
 “perhaps which he might desire, yet he especially shall
 “be as secure as possible.”

In another letter dated the next day after (the 16th
 of April) to the same Secretary, he hath these words;
 “I have orders from the deputies of Scotland to assure
 “you, that they will not herein fail,” (which related to
 sending the horse to meet his Majesty,) “as soon as they
 “shall know his day; and that the King shall be re-
 “ceived into the army as hath been promised; and
 “that his conscience shall not be forced.” And in the
 last letter, which his Majesty or the Secretary received
 from him, and which was dated the 20th of April 1646,
 there are these words: “They tell me that they will do
 “more than can be expressed; but let not his Majesty
 “hope for any more than I send him word of; that he
 “may not be deceived; and let him take his measures
 “aright; for certainly the enterprise is full of danger:”
 yet, in the same letter, he says, “the disposition of the
 “chiefs of the Scottish army is such as the King can
 “desire; they begin to draw off their troops towards
 “Burton, and the hindering his Majesty from falling
 “into

“ into the hands of the English is of so great importance to them, that it cannot be believed but that they will do all that lies in their power to hinder it.”

This was the proceeding of Monsieur Montrevil in that whole transaction; and if he were too sanguine upon his first conversation with the officers of the Scottish army, and some of the committee, and when he signed that engagement upon the first of April, he made haste to retract that confidence, and was in all his dispatches afterwards phlegmatic enough; and, after his Majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and stoutly charge all the particular persons with the promises and engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the Cardinal sensible of the indignity that was offered to that Crown in the violation of those promises and engagements; which was the reason of his being commanded to return home, as soon as the King came to Newcastle; lest his too keen resentment might irritate the Scots, and make it appear to the Parliament how far France was engaged in that whole negociation; which the Cardinal had no mind should appear to the world: and there can be no doubt, but that the cautions and animadversions which the King received from Montrevil after his engagement, would have diverted him from that enterprise, if his Majesty had discerned any other course to take that had been preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the Scots; but he was clearly destitute of any other refuge. Every day brought the news of the loss of some garrison; and as Oxford was already blocked up at a distance, by those horse which Fairfax had sent out of the West to that purpose, or to wait upon the King, and follow him close, if he should remove out of Oxford; so he had soon reduced Exeter,
and

and some other garrisons in Devonshire. The Governors then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being relieved, thought that they might deliver up their garrisons before they were pressed with the last extremities, that they might obtain the better conditions; and yet it was observed that better and more honourable conditions were not given to any, than to those who kept the places they were trusted with, till they had not one day's victual left; of which we shall observe more hereafter. By this means Fairfax was within three days of Oxford before the King left it, or fully resolved what to do.

His Majesty had before sent to two eminent commanders of name, who had blocked up the town at a distance, "that if they would pass their words," (how slender a security soever, from such men who had broken so many oaths, for the safety of the King,) "that they "would immediately conduct him to the Parliament, he "would have put himself into their hands;" for he was yet persuaded to think so well of the city of London, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himself there: but those officers would submit to no such engagements; and great care was taken to have strict guards round about London, that he might not get thither. What should the King do? There was one thing most formidable to him, which he was resolved to avoid, that was, to be inclosed in Oxford, and so to be given up, or taken, when the town should be surrendered, as a prisoner to the Independents' army; which he was advertised, from all hands, would treat him very barbarously.

In this perplexity, he chose rather to commit himself to the Scottish army; which yet he did not trust so far as to give them notice of his journey, by sending for a party

party of their horse to meet him, as they had proffered; but early in the morning, upon the 27th day of April, The King leaves Oxford April 27, 1646. he went out of Oxford, attended only by John Ashburnham, and a Divine, (one Hudson), who understood the by-ways as well as the common, and was indeed a very skilful guide. In this equipage he left Oxford on a Monday, leaving those of his Council in Oxford who were privy to his going out, not informed whether he would go to the Scottish army, or get privately into London, and lie there concealed, till he might choose that which was best; and it was generally believed, that he had not within himself at that time a fixed resolution what he would do; which was the more credited because it was nine days after his leaving Oxford, before it was known where the King was; insomuch as Fairfax, who came before it the fifth day after his Majesty was gone, was late down, and had made his circumvallation about Oxford, before he knew that the King was in the Scottish army; but the King had wasted that time in several places, whereof some were gentlemen's houses, (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of), purposely to be informed of the condition of the Marquis of Mountrose, and to find some secure passage that he might get to him; which he did exceedingly desire; but in the end, went into the Scottish army before Newark, and sent for Montrevil to come to him. Puts himself into the Scottish army before Newark.

It was very early in the morning when the King went to the General's lodging, and discovered himself to him; who either was, or seemed to be, exceedingly surprised and confounded at his Majesty's presence; and knew not what to say; but presently gave notice of it to the committee, who were no less perplexed. An express was presently sent to the Parliament at Westminster, to inform them of the unexpected news, as a thing the Scots

had not the least imagination of. The Parliament was so disordered with the intelligence, that at first they resolved to command their General to raise the siege before Oxford, and to march with all expedition to Newark; but the Scottish commissioners at London converted them from that, by assuring them, "that their orders would meet with an absolute obedience of their army;" so they made a short dispatch to them in which it was evident that they believed the King had gone to them by invitation, and not out of his own free choice; and implying, "that they should shortly receive farther direction from them;" and in the meantime, "that they should carefully watch that his Majesty did not dispose himself to go some whither else."

Their manner of treating his Majesty.

The great care in the army was, that there might be only respect and good manners shewed towards the King, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the General never asked the word of him, or any orders, nor, willingly, suffered the officers of the army to resort to, or to have any discourse with his Majesty. Montrevil was ill looked upon, as the man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their consent; but he was not frightened from owning, and declaring what had passed between them, what they had promised, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the King liked not the treatment he received, he was not without apprehension, that Fairfax might be forthwith appointed to decline all other enterprises, and to bring himself near the Scottish army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the Lord Bellasis to surrender Newark, that the Scots might march northward; which they resolved to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for some months longer from

The King orders Newark to be surrendered; whereupon the Scottish army marches northward with the King to Newcastle.

from that enemy, upon honourable conditions, that army with great expedition marched towards Newcastle; which the King was glad of, though their behaviour to him was still the same; and great strictness used that he might not confer with any man who was not well known to them, much less receive letters from any.

It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary news was from the pulpit; and by the preacher's text, and his manner of discourse upon it, the auditors might judge, and commonly foresaw, what was like to be next done in the Parliament or Council of State. The first sermon that was preached before the King, after the army rose from Newark to march northwards, was upon the 19th chapter of the 2d Book of Samuel, the 41st, 42d, and 43d verses.

41. *And behold, all the men of Israel came to the King, and said unto the King, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the King and his household, and all David's men with him over Jordan?*

42. *And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the King is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the King's cost? or hath he given us any gift?*

43. *And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the King, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our King? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel.*

Upon which words, the preacher gave men cause to believe, that now they had gotten their King, they resolved to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his Majesty came no sooner to Newcastle, than both Monsieur Montrevil was restrained from having any conference with him, and Mr. Ashburnham was advised "to shift for himself, or else that he should be delivered up to the Parliament;" and both the one and the other were come to Paris when the Queen sent those lords to hasten the Prince's remove from Jersey.

Where
Montrevil
was re-
strained
from him.

The Lord
Jermyn and
other lords
arrive at
Jersey,
about the
end of June,
from the
Queen, to
bring the
Prince into
France.

When those lords, with their great train, came to Jersey, which was towards the end of June, they brought with them a letter from the Queen to the Prince; in which she told him, "that she was now fully satisfied, from the intelligence she had from Newcastle and London, that he could not make any longer residence in Jersey without apparent danger of falling into the enemy's hands; and that if he should continue there, all possible attempts would be suddenly made, as well by treachery as by force, to get his person into their power; and therefore her Majesty did positively require him, to give immediate obedience to the King's commands, mentioned in the letter which he had lately sent by Sir Dudley Wyat," (which is set out before), "and reiterated in a letter which she had since received from the King by Monsieur Montrevil." Her Majesty said, "that she had the greatest assurance from the Crown of France, that possibly could be given, for his honourable reception, and full liberty to continue there, and to depart from thence, at his pleasure; and she engaged her own word, that whenever his Council should find it fit for him to go out of France, she would never oppose it; and that during his residence in that kingdom, all matters of importance

“ portance which might concern himself, or relate to his
 “ Majesty’s affairs, should be debated and resolved by
 “ himself and the Council, in such manner as they ought
 “ to have been, if he had continued in England, or in
 “ Jersey :” and concluded, “ that he should make all
 “ possible haste to her.”

The lords, which arrived with this dispatch from her Majesty, had no imagination that there would have been any question of his Highness’s compliance with the Queen’s command ; and therefore, as soon as they had kissed the Prince’s hand, which was in the afternoon, they desired that the Council might presently be called ; and when they came together, the Lords Jermyn, Digby, and Wentworth, being likewise present, and sitting in the Council, they desired the Prince “ that his mother’s letter might be read ; and then, since they conceived there could be no debate upon his Highness’s yielding obedience to the command of the King and Queen, that they might only consider of the day when he might begin his journey, and of the order he would observe in it.” The lords of the Council represented to the Prince, “ that they were the only persons that were accountable to the King, and to the kingdom, for any resolution his Highness should take, and for the consequence thereof ; and that the other lords who were present had no title to deliver their advice, or to be present at the debate, they being in no degree responsible for what his Highness should resolve to do ; and therefore desired that the whole matter might be debated ; the state of the King’s present condition understood as far as it might be ; and the reasons considered which made it counsellable for his Highness to repair into France, and what might be said against it ; and the rather, because it was very no-

Debates in
the Prince’s
Council
concerning
his going.

“ torious that the King had given no positive direction
 “ in the point, but upon a supposition that the Prince
 “ could not remain secure in Jersey; which was like-
 “ wise the ground of the Queen’s last command; and
 “ which they believed had no foundation of reason; and
 “ that his residence there might be very unquestionably
 “ safe.” This begot some warmth and contradiction
 between persons; insomuch as the Prince thought it
 very necessary to suspend the debate till the next day,
 to the end that by several and private conferences to-
 gether between the lords who came from Paris, and those
 who were in Jersey, they might convert, or confirm each
 other in the same opinions; at least that the next de-
 bate might be free from passion and unkindness; and
 so the Council rose, and the several lords betook them-
 selves to use the same arguments, or such as they
 thought more agreeable to the several persons, as the
 Lord Digby had before done to his friend, and with the
 same success.

The Lord
 Capel de-
 livers his
 opinion
 against it.

The next day when they were called together, the
 Lord Capel gave an account of all that had passed with
 the Queen from the time that the Lord Colepepper and
 he came thither; and “ that the reasons they had car-
 “ ried from the Prince had so far prevailed with the
 “ Queen, that her Majesty resolved to take no final re-
 “ solution till she received farther advertisement of the
 “ King’s pleasure; and he did not think that the informa-
 “ tion she had received from Monsieur Montrevil had
 “ weight enough to produce the quick resolution it had
 “ done: that he thought it still most absolutely neces-
 “ sary, to receive the King’s positive command before
 “ the Prince should remove out of his Majesty’s own
 “ dominions; there being no shadow of cause to sus-
 “ pect his security there: that he had then offered to
 “ the

“ the Queen, that he would himself make a journey to
 “ Newcastle to receive his Majesty’s commands ; and
 “ that he now made the same offer to the Prince : and
 “ because it did appear that his Majesty was very strict-
 “ ly guarded, and that persons did not easily find access
 “ to him, and that his own person might be seized upon
 “ in his journey thither, or his stay there, or his return
 “ back, and so his Highness might be disappointed of
 “ the information he expected, and remain still in the
 “ same uncertainty as to a resolution, he did propose,
 “ and consent to, as his opinion, that if he did not re-
 “ turn again to Jersey within the space of one month, the
 “ Prince should resolve to remove into France, if in the
 “ mean time such preparatories were made there, as he
 “ thought were necessary, and were yet defective.”

He said, “ he had been lately at Paris by the Prince’s
 “ command ; and had received many graces from the
 “ Queen, who had vouchsafed to impart all her own
 “ reasons for the Prince’s remove, and the grounds for
 “ the confidence she had of the affections of France :
 “ but, that he did still wonder, if the Court of France
 “ had so great a desire, as was pretended, that the
 “ Prince of Wales should repair thither, that in the
 “ two months time his Highness had been in Jersey,
 “ they had never sent a gentleman to see him, and to
 “ invite him to come thither ; nor had these who came
 “ now from the Queen, brought so much as a pass for
 “ him to come into France : that he could not but ob-
 “ serve, that all we had hitherto proposed to ourselves
 “ from France had proved in no degree answerable to
 “ our expectations ; as the five thousand foot, which
 “ we had expected in the West before the Prince came
 “ from thence ; and that we had more reason to be jea-
 “ lous now than ever, since it had been by the advice of
 “ France

“ France, that the King had now put himself into the hands of the Scots ; and therefore we ought to be the more watchful in the disposing the person of the Prince by their advice likewise.” He concluded, that he could not give his advice, or consent, that the Prince should repair into France, till the King’s pleasure might be known, or such other circumstances might be provided in France, as had been hitherto neglected.”

The arguments of the Lord Digby and Lord Jermyn for it.

The Lord Digby and the Lord Jermyn wondered very much, “ that there should be any doubt of the affections of France, or that it should be believed that the Queen could be deceived, or not well enough informed in that particular :” they related many particulars which had passed between the Cardinal and them in private conferences, and the great professions of affection he made to the King. They said, “ that the ambassador who was now appointed to go thither was chosen by the Queen herself, and had no other instructions but what she had given him ; and that he was not to stay there above a month ; at the end of which he was to denounce war against the Parliament, if they did not comply with such propositions as he made ; and so to return ; and then, that there should be an army of thirty thousand men immediately transported into England, with the Prince of Wales in the head of them ; that the ambassador was already gone from Paris, but was not to embark till he should first receive advertisement that the Prince of Wales was landed in France ; for that France had no reason to interest themselves so far in the King’s quarrel, if the Prince of Wales should refuse to venture his person with them ; or, it may be, engage against them upon another interest.”

They therefore besought the Prince, and the lords, “ that

“ that they would consider well, whether he would dis-
 “ appoint his father and himself of so great fruit as they
 “ were even ready to gather, and of which they could
 “ not be disappointed but by unseasonable jealousies of
 “ the integrity of France, and by delaying to give them
 “ satisfaction in the remove of the Prince from Jersey.”

These arguments, pressed with all the assurance imaginable, by persons of that near trust and confidence with the King, who were not like to be deceived themselves, nor to have any purpose to deceive the Prince, wrought so far with his Highness, that he declared, “ he
 “ would comply with the commands of the Queen, and
 “ forthwith remove into France;” which being resolved, The Prince resolves to go into France. he wished “ there might be no more debate upon that
 “ point, but that they would all prepare to go with him,
 “ and that there might be as great an unity in their
 “ counsels, as had hitherto always been.”

This so positive declaration of the Prince of his own resolution made all farther arguments against it not only useless but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that point, yet every man of the Council, the Lord Colepepper only excepted, besought his Highness, “ that
 “ he would give them his pardon, if they did not farther wait upon him; for they conceived their com-
 “ mission to be now at an end; and that they could not
 “ assume any authority by it to themselves, if they
 “ waited upon him into France; nor expect that their
 “ counsels there should be hearkened unto, when they
 “ were now rejected.” And so, after some sharp replies between the lords of different judgments, which made the Council break up the sooner, they who resolved not to go into France took their leaves of the Prince, and kissed his hand; his Highness then declaring, “ that he
 “ would be gone the next day by five of the clock in
 “ the

"the morning," though the cross winds, and want of some provisions which were necessary for the journey, detained him there four or five days longer; during which time, the dissenting lords every day waited upon him, and were received by him very graciously; his Highness well knowing and expressing to them a confidence in their affections, and that they would be sure to wait upon him, whenever his occasions should be ready for their service. But between them and the other lords there grew by degrees so great a strangeness, that, the last day, they did not so much as speak to each other; they who came from the Queen taking it very ill, that the others had presumed to dissent from what her Majesty had so positively commanded. And though they neither loved their persons, nor cared for their company, and without doubt, if they had gone into France, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that conjuncture, they believed that the dissent and separation of all those persons who were trusted by the King with the person of the Prince, would blast their counsel, and weigh down the single positive determination of the Queen herself.

On the other side, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to persons so entrusted; but that in truth many ill consequences would result from that sudden departure of the Prince out of the King's dominions, where his residence might have been secure in respect of the affairs of England; where, besides the garrisons of Scilly and Pendennis, (which might always be relieved by sea), there remained still within his Majesty's obedience, Oxford, Worcester, Wallingford, Ludlow, and some other places of less name; which, upon any divisions among themselves, that were naturally to be expected, might have turned

ed

ed the scale: nor did they know, of what ill consequence it might be to the King, that in such a conjuncture the Prince should be removed, when it might be more counsellable that he should appear in Scotland.

Moreover, Mr. Ashburnham's opinion, which he had delivered to the Lord Capel, wrought very much upon them; for that a man so entirely trusted by the King, who had seen him as lately as any body, should bring no directions from his Majesty to his son, and that he should believe, that it was fitter for the Prince to stay in Jersey than to remove into France, till his Majesty's pleasure was better understood, confirmed them in the judgment they had delivered.

But there was another reason that prevailed with those who had been made privy to it, and which, out of duty to the Queen, they thought not fit to publish, or insist upon; it was the instructions given to Bellievre, (and which too much manifested the irresolution her Majesty had), not to insist upon what they well knew the King would never depart from; for, though that ambassador was required to do all he could to persuade the Presbyterians to join with the King's party, and not to insist upon the destruction of the Church; yet if he found that could not be compassed, he was to press, as the advice of the King his master, his Majesty to part with the Church, and to satisfy the Presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the Queen his wife, and of his own party; which method was afterwards observed and pursued by Bellievre; which those lords perfectly abhorred; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to those counsels that had begun, and were to carry on that confusion.

Within a day or two after the Prince's departure from Jersey, the Earl of Berkshire left it likewise, and went
for

for England; the Lords Capel, Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remained together in Jersey to expect the King's pleasure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his Majesty's service; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his Majesty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the sincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewise waited upon the Prince into France, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted those violent pressures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more disquiet than he suffered from all the insolence of his enemies.

In a word, if the King's fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixed rules of policy and discretion, and if the current towards his destruction had not run with such a torrent, as carried down all obstructions of sobriety and wisdom, and made the confusion inevitable, it is very probable that this so sudden remove of the Prince from Jersey, with all the circumstances thereof, might have been looked upon, and censured with severity, as an action that swerved from that prudence which by the fundamental rules of policy had been long established; but by the fatal and prodigious calamities which followed, all counsels of wise and unwise men proving equally unsuccessful, the memory of what had passed before grew to be the less thought upon and considered.

Transac-
tions relat-
ing to the
King in the
Scottish
army.

Whilst these things were thus transacted in other parts, the King remained yet in the Scottish army; that people behaving themselves in such a manner, that most men believed they would never have parted with his Majesty till a full peace had been made. The Parliament made many sharp instances, "that the King
" might be delivered into their hands; and that the
" Scottish

“ Scottish army would return into their own country, “ having done what they were sent for, and the war “ being at an end.” To which the Council of Scotland seemed to answer with courage enough, and insisted most on those arguments of the King’s legal rights, which had been, in all his Majesty’s declarations, urged against the Parliament’s proceedings; and which indeed could never be answered; and as much condemned them, as the Parliament.

In the mean time, though the King received all outward respect, he was in truth in the condition of a prisoner; no servant whom he could trust suffered to come to him; and though many persons of quality who had served the King in the war, when they saw the resolute answers made by the Scots, “ that they neither would “ nor could compel their King to return to the Parliament, if his Majesty had no mind to do so,” repaired to Newcastle, where his Majesty was, yet none of them were suffered to speak to him; nor could he receive from, or send any letter to the Queen or Prince; and yet the Scots observed all distances, and performed all the ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treated him as their King; and made as great profession to him of their duty and good purposes, “ which they “ said they would manifest as soon as it should be seasonable; and then his servants and friends should repair to him with all liberty, and be well received:” and as they endeavoured to persuade the King to expect this from them, so they prevailed with many officers of that army, and some of the nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to discover their intentions.

Thus they prevailed with the King to send his positive orders to the Marquis of Mountrose, who had indeed

The King sends to the Marquis of Mountrose to disband, which he did.

deed done wonders, to lay down his arms, and to leave the kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his Majesty; and this was done with so much earnestness, and by a particular messenger known and trusted, that the Marquis obeyed, and transported himself into France.

They employ Henderson to the King to dispute with him concerning Church-government.

Then they employed their Alexander Henderson, and their other Clergy, to persuade the King to consent to the extirpation of Episcopacy in England, as he had in Scotland; and it was and is still believed, that if his Majesty would have been induced to have satisfied them in that particular, they would either have had a party in the Parliament at Westminster to have been satisfied therewith, or that they would thereupon have declared for the King, and have presently joined with the loyal party in all places for his Majesty's defence. But the King was too conscientious to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price as was demanded, and he was so much too hard for Mr. Henderson in the argumentation, (as appears by the papers that passed between them, which were shortly after communicated to the world), that the old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidants; and died of grief, and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his Majesty.

Mr. Henderson dies shortly after.

Whilst the King stayed at Newcastle, Bellievre the French ambassador, who was sent from Paris after the Prince arrived there, and by whom the Cardinal had promised to press the Parliament so imperiously, and to denounce a war against them if they refused to yield to what was reasonable towards an agreement with the King,

King, came to his Majesty, after he had spent some time at London in all the low application to the Parliament that can be imagined, without any mention of the King with any tenderness, as if his interest were at all considered by the King his master, and without any consultation with those of his Majesty's party; who were then in London, and would have been very ready to have advised with him. But he chose rather to converse with the principal leaders of the Presbyterian party in the Parliament, and with the Scottish commissioners; from whose information he took all his measures; and they assured him, "that nothing could be done for the King, except he would give up the Church; extirpate Episcopacy; and grant all the lands belonging to cathedral churches to such uses as the Parliament should advise;" so that, when he came to the King, he pressed him very earnestly to that condescension.

Bellevre's
negotia-
tions at
London,
and with
the King af-
terwards at
Newcastle.

But, besides the matter proposed, in which his Majesty was unmoveable, he had no esteem of any thing the ambassador said to him, having too late discovered the little affection the Cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, as hath been already said, by his advice, and upon his undertaking and assurance that his Majesty should be well received in the Scottish army, and that they would be firm to his interest, his Majesty had ventured to put himself into their hands; and he was no sooner there, than all they with whom Montrevil had treated, disavowed their undertaking what the King had been informed of; and though the envoy did avow, and justify, what he had informed the King, to the faces of the persons who had given their engagements, the Cardinal chose rather to recall and discountenance the minister of that Crown, than to enter into any expostulation with the Parliament, or the Scots.

The

The ambaffador, by an exprefs, quickly informed the Cardinal that the King was too referved in giving the Parliament fatisfaction; and therefore wifhed, “that
“fomebody might be fent over, who was like to have
“fo much credit with his Majefty as to perfuade him
“to what was neceffary for his fervice.” Upon which

Sir William
Davenant
fent from
the Queen
to the King,
to perfuade
him to give
up the
Church.

the Queen, who was never advifed by thofe who either underftood or valued his true intereft, confulted with thofe about her; and fent Sir William Davenant, an honeft man, and a witty, but in all refpects inferior to fuch a truft, with a letter of credit to the King, (who knew the perfon well enough under another character than was like to give him much credit in the argument in which he was inftructed), although her Majefty had likewise other ways declared her opinion to his Majefty. “that he fhould part with the Church for his peace and
“fecurity.”

Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French ambaffador, eafy admiffion to the King; who heard him patiently all he had to fay, and answered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleafed with the advice. When he found his Majefty unsatisfied, and that he was not like to confent to what was fo earneftly defired by them by whole advice he was fent, who undervalued all thofe fcruples of confcience which his Majefty himfelf was ftrongly poffeffed with, he took upon himfelf the confidence to offer fome reasons to the King to induce him to yield to what was propofed; and, among other things, faid, “it was the
“advice and opinion of all his friends;” his Majefty asking, “what friends?” and he answering, “that it
“was the opinion of the Lord Jermyn,” the King faid, “that the Lord Jermyn did not underftand any thing of
“the Church.” The other faid, “the Lord Colepepper
“was

“ was of the same mind.” The King said, Colepepper had no religion : and asked, “ whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of that mind ? ” to which he answered, “ he did not know ; for that he was not there, “ and had deserted the Prince : ” and thereupon said somewhat from the Queen of the displeasure she had conceived against the Chancellor : to which the King said, “ the Chancellor was an honest man, and would “ never desert him, nor the Prince, nor the Church ; “ and that he was sorry he was not with his son ; but “ that his wife was mistaken.” Davenant then offering some reasons of his own, in which he mentioned the Church slightly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his Majesty was transported with so much indignation, that he gave him a sharper reprehension than was usual for him to give to any other man ; and forbid him to presume to come again into his presence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted ; and returned into France, to give an account of his ill success to those who sent him.

As all men's expectations from the courage and activity of the French ambassador in England were thus frustrated, by his mean and low carriage both towards the Parliament and at Newcastle, so all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the Prince of Wales, when his person should once appear in France, were as unworthily disappointed. The Prince had been above two months with the Queen his mother, before any notice was taken of his being in France, by the least message sent from the Court to congratulate his arrival there ; but that time was spent in debating the formalities of his reception ; how the King

The Prince's
treatment
when he
came into
France.

should treat him? and how he should behave himself towards the King? whether he should take place of Monsieur the King's brother? and what kind of ceremonies should be observed between the Prince of Wales and his uncle the Duke of Orleans? and many such other particulars; in all which they were resolved to give the law themselves; and which had been fitter to have been adjusted in Jersey, before he put himself into their power, than disputed afterwards in the Court of France; from which there could be then no appeal.

There can be no doubt but that the Cardinal, who was the sole minister of State, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be said, did think the presence of the Prince there of the highest importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his power to persuade the Queen that it was as necessary for the affairs of the King her husband, and of her Majesty: but now that work was over, and the person of the Prince brought into their power, without the least public act or ceremony to invite him thither, it was no less his care that the Parliament in England, and the officers of the army, whom he feared more than the Parliament, should believe that the Prince came thither without their wish, and in truth against their will; that the Crown of France could not refuse to interpose, and mediate, to make up the difference between the Parliament and the Scottish nation, and that the kingdoms might be restored to peace; but that when they had performed that office of mediation, they had performed their function; and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the Parliament and the Scots, than they had done between the King and the Parliament; and that since the Prince had come to the Queen his mother, from which they could not reasonably re-
strain

strain him, it should not be attended with any prejudice to the peace of England; nor should he there find any means or assistance to disturb it. And it was believed by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the Cardinal then laid the foundation for that friendship which was shortly after built up between him and Cromwell, by promising, "that they should receive less inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in France, than if he were in any other part of Europe." And it can hardly be believed, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful that he might not be looked upon as supported by them either according to his dignity, or for the maintenance of his family; but a mean addition to the pension which the Queen had before, was made to her Majesty, without any mention of the Prince her son; who was wholly to depend upon her bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own servants; that they likewise might depend only upon the Queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly.

When the Scots had secured the peace and quiet of their own country, by disbanding the forces under the Marquis of Mountrose, and by his transporting himself beyond the seas, and by putting to death several persons of name who had followed the Marquis, and had been taken prisoners, among whom Sir Robert Spotswood was one, a worthy, honest, loyal gentleman, and as wise a man as that nation had at that time, (whom the King had made Secretary of State of that kingdom, in the place of the Earl of Lanrick, who was then in arms against him; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death :) and when they had with such solemnity and resolution made it plain and evident, that

they could not, without the most barefaced violation of their faith and allegiance, and of the fundamental principle of Christian religion, ever deliver up their native King, who had put himself into their hands, into the hands of the Parliament, against his own will and consent : and when the Earl of Lowden had publicly declared to the two Houses of Parliament in a conference “ that an eternal infamy would lie upon them, and the “ whole nation, if they should deliver the person of the “ King ; the securing of which was equally their duty, “ as it was the Parliament’s, and the disposal of his person in order to that security did equally belong to “ them as to the Parliament ;” however, they said, “ they “ would use all the persuasion, and all the importunity “ they could with the King that his Majesty might “ yield, and consent to the propositions the Parliament “ had sent to him.”

The Parliament had, upon the first notice of the King’s being arrived in the Scottish army, sent a positive command to the committee of both kingdoms residing in the Scottish army, that the person of the King should be forthwith sent to Warwick-castle ; but the Scots, who apprehended they could not be long without such an order, had, within two days after his Majesty’s coming to them, and after he had caused Newark to be delivered up, with wonderful expedition marched towards Newcastle ; and were arrived there before they received that order for sending his Majesty to Warwick ; which proceeding of theirs pleased his Majesty very well, among many other things which displeased him ; and persuaded him, that though they would observe their own method, they would, in the end, do somewhat for his service.

Upon the receiving that order, they renewed their
pro-

professions to the Parliament of observing punctually
 all that had been agreed between them; and besought
 them, "that since they had promised the King, before
 " he left Oxford, to send propositions to him, they
 " would now do it; and said, that if he refused to com-
 " ply with them, to which they should persuade him,
 " they knew what they were to do." Then they advised
 the King, and prevailed with him, to send orders to the
 governor of Oxford to make conditions, and to surrender <sup>The King, upon the Scots' de-
fire, sends orders for the surren-
der of Ox-
ford and all
his other
garrisons.</sup>
 that place (where his son the Duke of York was, and all
 the Council) into the hands of Fairfax, who with his
 army then besieged them; and likewise to publish a ge-
 neral order, (which they caused to be printed), "that
 " all governors of any garrisons for his Majesty should
 " immediately deliver them up to the Parliament upon
 " fair and honourable conditions, since his Majesty re-
 " solved in all things to be advised by his Parliament;
 " and till this was done, they said, they could not de-
 " clare themselves in that manner for his Majesty's ser-
 " vice and interest, as they resolved to do; for that they
 " were, by their treaty and confederacy, to serve the
 " Parliament in such manner as they should direct, un-
 " til the war should be ended; but, that done, they had
 " no more obligations to the Parliament; and that,
 " when his Majesty had no more forces on foot, nor
 " garrisons which held out for him, it could not be de-
 " nied but that the war was at an end; and then they
 " could speak and expostulate with freedom." By which
 arts, they prevailed with the King to send, and publish
 such orders as aforesaid; and which indeed, as the case
 then stood, he could have received little benefit by not
 publishing.

The Parliament was contented, as the more expedite
 way, (though they were much offended at the presump-

The Parliament, upon the Scots' request, sends propositions of peace to the King at Newcastle, about the end of July.

His Majesty's answer.

tion of the Scots in neglecting to send the King to Warwick), to send their propositions to the King (which they knew his Majesty would never grant) by commissioners of both Houses, who had no other authority or power, than "to demand a positive answer from the King in ten days, and then to return." These propositions were delivered about the end of July; and contained such an eradication of the government of the Church and State, that the King told them, "he knew not what answer to make to them, till he should be informed what power or authority they had left to him and his heirs, when he had given all that to them which they desired." He desired, "that he might be removed to some of his own houses, and that he might reside there till, upon a personal treaty with his Parliament, such an agreement might be established as the kingdom might enjoy peace and happiness under it; which, he was sure, it could never do by the concessions they proposed."

The Scots, who were enough convinced that his Majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice the Church to their wild lusts and impiety, were as good as their words to the Parliament, and used all the rude importunity and threats to his Majesty, to persuade him freely to consent to all: though they confessed "that the propositions were higher in many things than they approved of, yet they saw no other means for him to close with his Parliament, than by granting what they required."

The Scots enforce the Parliament propositions by their Chancellor.

The Chancellor of Scotland told him, "that the consequence of his answer to the propositions was as great, as the ruin or preservation of his crown or kingdoms: that the Parliament, after many bloody battles, had got the strong holds and forts of the kingdom into their hands:

" hands : that they had his revenue, excise, assessments,
 " sequestrations, and power to raise all the men and mo-
 " ney of the kingdom : that they had gained victory
 " over all, and that they had a strong army to maintain
 " it ; so that they might do what they would with
 " Church or State : that they desired neither him, nor
 " any of his race, longer to reign over them ; and had
 " sent these propositions to his Majesty, without the
 " granting whereof, the kingdom and his people could
 " not be in safety : that if he refused to assent, he would
 " lose all his friends in Parliament, lose the city, and lose
 " the country ; and that all England would join against
 " him as one man to process and depose him, and to set
 " up another government ; and so, that both kingdoms,
 " for either's safety, would agree to settle religion and
 " peace without him, to the ruin of his Majesty and his
 " posterity : " and concluded, " that if he left England,
 " he would not be admitted to come and reign in Scot-
 " land."

And it is very true that the General Assembly of the
 Kirk, which was then sitting in Scotland, had petitioned
 the conservators of the peace of the kingdom, " that if
 " the King should refuse to give satisfaction to his Par-
 " liament, he might not be permitted to come into
 " Scotland." This kind of argumentation did more pro-
 voke than persuade the King ; he told them, with great
 resolution and magnanimity, " that no condition they
 " could reduce him to, could be half so miserable and
 " grievous to him, as that which they would persuade
 " him to reduce himself to ; and therefore, bid them
 " proceed their own way ; and that though they had all
 " forsaken him, God had not."

The Parliament had now received the answer they ex-
 pected ;

The Parliament require the Scots to quit the kingdom, and to deliver up the person of the King.

pected; and, forthwith, required "the Scots to quit the kingdom, and to deliver the person of the King to such persons as they should appoint to receive him;" who should attend upon his Majesty from Newcastle to Holmby, a house of his at a small distance from Northampton, a town and country of very eminent disaffection to the King throughout the war; and declared, "that his Majesty should be treated, with respect to the safety and preservation of his person, according to the Covenant: and that, after his coming to Holmby, he should be attended by such as they should appoint; and that when the Scots were removed out of England, the Parliament would join with their brethren of Scotland again to persuade the King to pass the propositions; which if he refused to do, the House would do nothing that might break the union of the two kingdoms, but would endeavour to preserve the same."

The Scots now begun again to talk sturdily, and denied "that the Parliament of England had power absolutely to dispose of the person of the King without their approbation;" and the Parliament as loudly replied, "that they had nothing to do in England, but to observe their orders;" and added such threats to their reasons, as might let them see they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact obedience from them, if they refused to yield it. But these discourses were only kept up till they could adjust all accounts between them, and agree what price they should pay for the delivery of his person, whom one side was resolved to have, and the other as resolved not to keep; and so

The Scots agree to deliver up the King.

they agreed; and, upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more

more upon days agreed upon, the Scots delivered the King up into such hands as the Parliament appointed to receive him.

In this infamous manner that excellent Prince was, in the end of January, given up, by his Scottish subjects, to those of his English who were entrusted by the Parliament to receive him; which had appointed a committee of Lords and Commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a party of horse and foot of the army, which were subject to the orders of that committee, and the committee itself to go to Newcastle to receive that town as well as the King; where, and to whom, his Majesty was delivered.

They received him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the Scots, and with the same strictness restrained all resort of those to his Majesty, who were of doubtful affections to them and their cause. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the Parliament, to attend upon his person and service, in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they preferred those who had faithfully adhered to them against their master; and, where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their affection to them. And, in this distribution, the Presbyterian party in the Houses did what they pleased, and were thought to govern all. The Independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest, till they had dismissed their friends, the Scots, out of the kingdom; and permitting them to put men of their principles about the person of the King, and to choose such a guard as they could confide in, to attend his Majesty.

Of the committee employed to govern and direct all, Major General Brown was one, who had a great name
and

The committee appointed by the Parliament to receive the King at Newcastle in the end of January. Servants appointed by the Parliament to attend his Majesty.

The King is
brought to
Holmby.

and interest in the city, and with all the Presbyterian party, and had done great service to the Parliament in the war under the Earl of Essex, and was a diligent and stout commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his Majesty was brought to his own house at Holmby in Northamptonshire; a place he had taken much delight in: and there he was to stay till the Parliament and the army (for the army now took upon them to have a share, and to give their opinion in the settlement that should be made) should determine what should be farther done.

The King
desires cer-
tain of his
Chaplains;
is refused.

In the mean time, the committee paid all respects to his Majesty; and he enjoyed those exercises he most delighted in; and seemed to have all liberty, but to confer with persons he most desired, and to have such servants about him as he could trust. That which most displeased him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own Chaplains; but ordered Presbyterian ministers to attend for divine service; and his Majesty, utterly refusing to be present at their devotions, was compelled at those hours to be his own chaplain in his bed-chamber; where he constantly used the Common Prayer by himself. His Majesty bore this constraint so heavily, that he writ a letter to the House of Peers, in which he inclosed a list of the names of thirteen of his Chaplains; any two of which he desired might have liberty to attend him for his devotion. To which, after many days consideration, they returned this answer; "that all those Chaplains were disaffected to the established government of the Church, and had not taken the Covenant; but that there were others who had, who, if his Majesty pleased, should be sent to him." After this answer, his Majesty thought it to no purpose to importune them farther in that particular; but, next to the having
his

his own Chaplains, he would have been best pleased to have been without any ; they who were sent by them being men of mean parts, and of most impertinent and troublesome confidence and importunity.

Whilst those disputes continued between the Parliament and the Scots concerning the King's person, the army proceeded with great success in reducing those gar-
Divers gar-
risons sur-
rendered to
the Parlia-
ment.
risons which still continued in his Majesty's obedience ; whereof though some surrendered more easily, and with less resistance than they might have made, satisfying themselves with the King's general order, and that there was no reasonable expectation of relief, and therefore that it would not be amiss, by an early submission, to obtain better conditions for themselves ; yet others defended themselves with notable obstinacy to the last, to the great damage of the enemy, and to the detaining the army from uniting together ; without which they could not pursue the great designs they had. And this was one of the reasons that made the treaty with the Scots depend so long, and that the Presbyterians continued their authority and credit so long ; and we may observe again, that those garrisons which were maintained and defended with the greatest courage and virtue, in the end, obtained as good and as honourable conditions, as any of those who surrendered upon the first summons.

This was the case of Ragland and Pendennis castles ; which endured the longest sieges, and held out the last of any forts or castles in England ; being bravely defended by two persons of very great age ; but were at length delivered up within a day or two of each other. Ragland was maintained, with extraordinary resolution and courage, by the old Marquis of Worcester against Fairfax himself, till it was reduced to the utmost necessity. Pendennis refused all summons ; admitting no treaty,

treaty, till all their provisions were so far consumed, that they had not victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated, and carried themselves in the treaty with such resolution and unconcernedness, that the enemy concluded they were in no straits; and so gave them the conditions they proposed; which were as good as any garrison in England had accepted. The castle was defended by the governor thereof, John Arundel of Trevice in Cornwall, an old gentleman of near fourscore years of age, and of one of the best estates and interests in that county; who, with the assistance of his son Richard Arundel, (who was then a colonel in the army; a stout and diligent officer; and was by the King after his return made a baron, Lord Arundel of Trevice, in memory of his father's service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the war), maintained and defended the same to the last extremity.

There remained with him in that service many gentlemen of the country of great loyalty, amongst whom Sir Harry Killigrew was one; who, being an intimate friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolved to go to Jersey; and, as soon as the castle was surrendered, took the first opportunity of a vessel then in the harbour of Falmouth, to transport himself with some officers and soldiers to St. Maloes in Brittany; from whence he writ to the Chancellor in Jersey, that he would procure a bark of that island to go to St. Maloes to fetch him thither; which, by the kindness of Sir George Carteret, was presently sent, with a longing desire to receive him into that island; the two Lords, Capel and Hopton, and the Governor, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the Chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the vessel at sea, (which they well knew), they all made haste to the harbour to receive their friend;

friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his body there in a coffin, he having died at St. Maloes within a day after he had written his letter.

After the treaty was signed for delivering the castle, he had walked out to discharge some arms which were in his chamber; among which, a carabine that had been long charged, in the shooting off, broke; and a splinter of it struck him in the forehead; which, though it drew much blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; so that his friends could not persuade him to stay there till the wound was cured; but, the blood being stopped, and the chirurgeon having bound it up, he prosecuted his intended voyage; and at his landing at St. Maloes, he writ that letter; believing his wound would give him little trouble. But his letter was no sooner gone than he sent for a chirurgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he died, having desired that his dead body might be sent to Jersey; where he was decently buried. He was a very gallant gentleman, of a noble extraction, and a fair revenue in land; of excellent parts and courage: he had one only son, who was killed before him in a party that fell upon the enemy's quarters near Bridgewater; where he behaved himself with remarkable courage, and was generally lamented.

Sir Harry was of the House of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the Court than the having many friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly beloved, he was most zealous and passionate in opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the Parliament. And when the Earl of Essex was chosen General, and the several members of the House stood up, and declared, what horse they would raise and maintain,

tain, and that they would live and die with the King; their General, one saying he would raise ten horses, and another twenty, he stood up and said, "He would provide a good horse, and a good buff coat, and a good pair of pistols, and then he doubted not but he should find a good cause;" and so went out of the House, and rode post into Cornwall, where his estate and interest lay; and there joined with those gallant gentlemen his friends, who first received the Lord Hopton, and raised those forces which did so many famous actions in the West.

He would never take any command in the army; but they who had, consulted with no man more. He was in all actions, and in those places where was most danger, having great courage and a pleasantness of humor in danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty, took care not to be within his view: for he was a very sharp speaker, and cared not for angering those who deserved to be reprehended. The Arundels, Trelawnies, Slannings, Trevanions, and all the signal men of that county, infinitely loved his spirit and sincerity; and his credit and interest had a great influence upon all but those who did not love the King; and to those he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by men of moderate tempers; for he thought all such prepared to rebel, when a little success should encourage them; and was many times too much offended with men who wished well, and whose constitutions and complexions would not permit them to express the same frankness, which his nature and keenness of spirit could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by all good men.

From the time that the King was brought to Holmby, and whilst he stayed there, he was afflicted with the same

same pressures concerning the Church, which had disquieted him at Newcastle; the Parliament not remitting any of their insolencies in their demands; all which was imputed to the Presbyterians, who were thought to exercise the whole power, and begun to give orders for the lessening their great charge by disbanding some troops of their army, and sending others for Ireland; which they made no doubt speedily to reduce; and declared, "that they would then disband all armies, that the kingdom might be governed by the known laws."

This temper in the Houses raised another spirit in the army; which did neither like the Presbyterian government that they saw ready to be settled in the Church, nor that the Parliament should so absolutely dispose of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and Cromwell, who had the sole influence upon the army, underhand, made them petition the Houses against any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himself, and his officers, took upon them to preach and pray publickly to their troops, and admitted few or no chaplains in the army, but such as bitterly inveighed against the Presbyterian government, as more tyrannical than Episcopacy; and the common soldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach among themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches, and preached to the people; who quickly became inspired with the same spirit; women as well as men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all religions concerning State; scarce any man being suffered to be questioned for delivering any opinion in religion, by speaking or writing, how profane, heretical, or blasphemous.

foever it was; "which, they said, was to restrain the " Spirit."

Liberty of conscience was now the common argument and quarrel, whilst the Presbyterian party proceeded with equal bitterness against the several sects as enemies to all godliness, as they had done, and still continued to do against the Prelatical party; and finding themselves superior in the two Houses, little doubted, by their authority and power there, to be able to reform the army, and to new model it again; which they would, no doubt, have attempted, if it had not pleased God to have taken

The Earl of
Essex died
in Sept. this
year.

away the Earl of Essex some months before this; who died without being sensible of sickness, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the mischief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities himself had received from the ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehension and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the King and the kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the city at that time, and of the two Houses, he might, if he had lived, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a man, who, out of the pride and vanity of his nature, rather than the wickedness of his heart, had been made an instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work: though his constitution and temper might very well incline him to the lethargic disposition of which he died, yet it was loudly said by many of his friends, "that he was poisoned."

Sure it is that Cromwell and his party (for he was now declared head of the army, though Fairfax continued General in name) were wonderfully exalted with
his

his death; he being the only person whose credit and interest they feared without any esteem of his person.

And now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute and competition with the Parliament, and go a share with them in settling the kingdom, (as they called it); the army erected a kind of Parliament among themselves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the King's army, and when they had no more enemy to contend with in the field, and after they had purged their army of all those inconvenient officers, of whose entire submission, and obedience to all their dictates, they had not confidence, set aside, in effect, their Self-denying Ordinance, and got their principal officers of the army, and others of their friends, whose principles they well knew, to be elected members of the House of Commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expelled by them for adhering to the King. By this means, Fairfax himself, Ireton, Harrison, and many other of the Independents, officers and gentlemen, of the several counties, who were transported with new fancies in religion, and were called by a new name *Fanatics*, sat in the House of Commons; notwithstanding all which, the Presbyterians still carried it.

But about this time, that they might be upon a nearer level with the Parliament, the army made choice of a number of such officers as they liked; which they called the General's Council of Officers; who were to resemble the House of Peers; and the common soldiers made choice of three or four of each regiment, most corporals or sergeants, few or none above the degree of an ensign, who were called *Agitators*, and were to be as a House of Commons to the Council of Officers. These two representatives met severally, and considered of all the acts and orders made

Their first
resolutions.

made by the Parliament towards settling the kingdom and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding of the army: and, upon mutual messages and conferences between each other, they resolved in the first place, as declared, “that they would not be divided or disbanded, before their full arrears were paid, and before first provision was made for liberty of conscience; which they said, was the ground of the quarrel, and for which so many of their friends’ lives had been lost, and so much of their own blood had been spilt; and that hitherto there was so little security provided at that point, that there was a greater persecution now against religious and godly men, than ever had been in the King’s government, when the Bishops were their judges.”

They said, “they did not look upon themselves as a band of Janizaries, hired and entertained only to fight their battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation of which they were a part; and before they laid down those arms, they would see all those ends well provided for, that the people might not hereafter undergo those grievances which they had formerly suffered. They complained that some members of the army had been sent for by the Parliament, and committed to prison, which was against their privilege; since all soldiers ought to be tried by a council of war, and not by any other judicatory; and therefore they desired redress in these, and many other particulars of as ingrateful a nature; and that such as were imprisoned and in custody, might be forthwith set at liberty; without which they could not think themselves justly dealt with.” And with this declaration and address, they

they sent three or four of their own members to the House of Commons; who delivered it at the bar with wonderful confidence. Which they delivered to the Parliament.

The soldiers published a vindication, as they called it, of their proceedings and resolutions, and directed it to their General; in which they complained of a design to disband and new model the army; "which, they said, was a plot contrived by some men who had lately tasted of sovereignty; and, being lifted up above the ordinary sphere of servants, endeavoured to become masters, and were degenerated into tyrants." They therefore declared, "that they would neither be employed for the service of Ireland, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were granted, and the rights and liberties of the subjects should be vindicated and maintained." This apology, or vindication, being signed by many inferior officers, the Parliament declared them to be enemies to the State; and caused some of them, who talked loudest, to be imprisoned. Upon which a new address was made to their General; And to their General. wherein they complained "how disdainfully they were used by the Parliament, for whom they had ventured their lives, and lost their blood: that the privileges, which were due to them as soldiers and as subjects, were taken from them; and when they complained of the injuries they received, they were abused, beaten, and dragged into gaols."

Hereupon, the General was prevailed with to write a letter to a member of Parliament, who shewed it to the House; in which he took notice of several petitions, which were prepared in the city of London, and some other counties of the kingdom, against the army; and "that it was looked upon as very strange, that the officers of the army might not be permitted to petition, when

“ when so many petitions were received against them .
 “ and that he much doubted that the army might
 “ draw to a rendezvous, and think of some other way
 “ for their own vindication.”

This manner of proceeding by the soldiers, but especially the General seeming to be of their mind, troubled the Parliament ; yet they resolved not to suffer their counsels to be censured, or their actions controlled, by those who were retained by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high expressions against the presumption of several officers and soldiers, they declared, “ that whosoever should refuse, being
 “ commanded, to engage himself in the service of
 “ Ireland, should be disbanded.” The army was resolved not to be subdued in their first so declared resolution, and fell into a direct and high mutiny, and called for the arrears of pay due to them ; which they knew where and how to levy for themselves ; nor could they be in any degree appeased, till the declaration that the Parliament had made against them was raised out of the journal book of both Houses, and a month’s pay sent to them ; nor were they satisfied with all this, but talked very loud, “ that they knew how to make themselves as
 “ considerable as the Parliament, and where to have
 “ their service better valued and rewarded ;” which so frightened those at Westminster, that they appointed a committee of Lords and Commons, whereof some were very acceptable to the army, to go to them, and to treat with a committee chosen of the officers of the army, upon the best expedients that might be applied to the composing these distempers. Now the army thought itself upon a level with the Parliament, when they had a committee of the one authorized to treat with a committee of the other ; which likewise raised the spirits

The Parliament's declaration thereupon.

Afterward raised out of their books.

A committee appointed by the two Houses to treat with a committee of the army.

spirits of Fairfax, who had never thought of opposing or disobeying the Parliament; and disposed him to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he saw it was so much complied with and submitted to by all men.

Cromwell, hitherto, carried himself with that rare ^{Cromwell's behaviour at first in these mutinies.} dissimulation, (in which sure he was a very great master), that he seemed exceedingly incensed against this insolence of the soldiers; was still in the House of Commons when any such addresses were made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the commitment, of some of the officers. He proposed, "that the General might be sent down to the army;" who, he said, "would conjure down this mutinous spirit quickly;" and he was so easily believed, that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the army; where after he had stayed two or three days, he would again return to the House, and complain heavily "of the great licence that was got into the army; that, for his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and of those who desired that the nation should be again imbrued in blood, he was rendered so odious unto them, that they had a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, he had not escaped out of their hands." And in these, and the like discourses, when he spake of the nation's being to be involved in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted man in the world with the sense of the calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser sort had long discovered his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisy could not longer be concealed. The most active officers and agitators were known to be his own creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was privately resolved

resolved by the principal persons of the House of Commons, that when he came the next day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming, that if they had once severed his person from the army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the General Fairfax, whom they knew to be a perfect Presbyterian in his judgment; and that Cromwell had the ascendant over him purely by his dissimulation, and pretence of conscience and sincerity. There is no doubt Fairfax did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had those wicked designs in his heart against the King, or the least imagination of disobeying the Parliament.

This purpose of seizing upon the person of Cromwell could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority in the army, and that his life would be in danger if he were with it, when the House expected every minute his presence, they were informed that he was met out of the town by break of day, with one servant only, on the way to the army; where he had appointed a rendezvous of some regiments of the horse, and from whence he writ a letter to the House of Commons, “that having the night before received a letter from some officers of his own regiment, “that the jealousy the troops had conceived of him, “and of his want of kindness towards them, was much “abated, so that they believed, if he would be quickly “present with them, they would all in a short time by “his advice be reclaimed, upon this he had made all “the haste he could; and did find that the soldiers had “been abused by misinformation; and that he hoped
“to

“ to discover the fountain from whence it sprung ; and
 “ in the mean time desired that the General, and the
 “ other officers in the House, and such as remained about
 “ the town, might be presently sent to their quarters; and
 “ that he believed it would be very necessary in or-
 “ der to the suppression of the late distempers, and for
 “ the prevention of the like for the time to come, that
 “ there might be a general rendezvous of the army; of
 “ which the General would best consider, when he came
 “ down ; which he wished might be hastened.” It was
 now to no purpose to discover what they had formerly
 intended, or that they had any jealousy of a person who
 was out of their reach ; and so they expected a better
 conjuncture ; and in few days after, the General and
 the other officers left the town, and went to their quar-
 ters.

The same morning that Cromwell left London, Cornet
 Joyce, who was one of the agitators in the army, a tay-
 lor, a fellow who had two or three years before served
 in a very inferior employment in Mr. Hollis's house,
 came with a squadron of fifty horse to Holmby, where
 the King was, about the break of day ; and without any
 interruption by the guard of horse or foot which waited
 there, came with two or three more, and knocked at the
 King's chamber door, and said “ he must presently
 “ speak with the King.” His Majesty, surprised with
 the manner of it, rose out of his bed ; and, half dressed,
 caused the door to be opened, which he would be quickly
 broken open ; they who knew otherwise chamber being
 persons of whom he had little knowledge, and less confidence.
 As soon as the door was opened, Joyce, and two or three
 more, came in with their hats off, and pistols in their hands.
 Joyce told the King, “ that he must go with him.” His Majesty
 asked,

Cornet
 Joyce seized
 upon the
 King at
 Holmby.
 June 3,
 1647.

asked, "whither?" he answered, "to the army." The King asked him, "where the army was?" he said, "they would carry him to the place where it was." His Majesty asked, "by what authority they came?" Joyce answered, "by this;" and shewed him his pistol: and desired his Majesty, "that he would cause himself to be dressed, because it was necessary they should make haste." None of the other soldiers spoke a word; and Joyce, saving the bluntness and positiveness of the few words he spoke, behaved himself not rudely. The King said, "he could not stir before he spoke with the committee to whom he had been delivered, and who were trusted by the Parliament;" and so appointed one of those who waited upon him, to call them. The committee had been as much surprised with the noise as the King had been, and quickly came to his chamber, and asked Joyce, "whether he had any orders from the Parliament?" he said *No.* "From the General?" *No.* "What authority he came by?" to which he made no other answer, than he had made to the King, and held up his pistol. They said, "they would write to the Parliament to know their pleasure;" Joyce said, "they might do so, but the King must presently go with him." Colonel Brown had sent for some of the troops who were appointed for the King's guard, but they came not; he spoke then with the officer who commanded those who were at that time upon the guard, and found that they would make no resistance: so that after the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cause to believe that he was resolved not to have gone, which had been to no purpose, and after he had broken his fast, he went into his coach, attended by the few servants who were put about him, and went whither Cor-
net

that Joyce would conduct him; there being no part of the army known to be within twenty miles of Holmby at that time; and that which administered most cause of apprehension, was, that those officers who were of the guard, declared, "that the squadron which was commanded by Joyce consisted not of soldiers of any one regiment, but were men of several troops, and several regiments, drawn together under him, who was not the proper officer;" so that the King did in truth believe, that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him.

The committee quickly gave notice to the Parliament of what had passed, with all the circumstances; and it was received with all imaginable consternation; nor could any body imagine what the purpose and resolution was.

Nor were they at the more ease, or in any degree pleased with the account they received from the General himself; who by his letter informed them, "that the soldiers at Holmby had brought the King from thence; and that his Majesty lay the next night at Colonel Montague's house, and would be the next day at Newmarket: that the ground thereof was from an apprehension of some strength gathered to force the King from thence; whereupon he had sent Colonel Whaley's regiment to meet the King." He protested, "that his remove was without his consent, or of the officers about him, or of the body of the army, and without their desire or privity: that he would take care for the security of his Majesty's person from danger;" and assured the Parliament, "that the whole army endeavoured peace, and were far from opposing Presbytery, or affecting Independency, or from any purpose to maintain a licentious freedom in religion, or the interest of any particular party, but

The committee give notice of it.

The General's account of it to the Parliament.

"were

“ were resolved to leave the absolute determination of
“ to the Parliament.”

It was upon the third of June that the King was taken from Holmby by Cornet Joyce, well nigh a year after he had delivered himself to the Scots at Newark; in all which time, the army had been at leisure to contrive all ways to free itself from the servitude of the Parliament, whilst the Presbyterians believed, that, in spite of a few factious Independent officers, it was entirely at their devotion, and could never prove disobedient to their commands; and those few wise men, who discerned the foul designs of those officers, and by whose degrees they stole the hearts and affections of the soldiers, had not credit enough to be believed by their party. The joint confidence of the unanimous affection of the city of London to all their purposes, made them despise all opposition; but now, when they saw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and with the circumstances, they found all their measures broke to which they had formed all their counsels. And as the letter from the General administered too much cause of jealousy of what was to succeed, so a positive information about the same time by many officers, confirmed by a letter which the Lord Mayor of London had received, that the whole army was upon its march, and

Diffractions
at West-
minster up-
on notice of
the army's
coming to-
wards Lon-
don.

would be in London the next day by noon, so distracted them, that they appeared besides themselves: however, they voted, “ that the Houses should sit all the next day, being Sunday; and that Mr. Marshall should be there to pray for them: that the Committee of Safety should sit up all that night to consider what was to be done: that the lines of communication should be strongly guarded, and all the Trained Bands of London should be drawn together upon pain of death.”

All

All shops were shut up, and such a general confusion over all the town, and in the faces of all men, as if the army had already entered the town. The Parliament writ a letter to the General, desiring him, "that no part of the army might come within five and twenty miles of London; and that the King's person might be delivered to the former commissioners, who had attended upon his Majesty at Holmby; and that Colonel Rosfiter, and his regiment, might be appointed for the guard of his person." The General returned for answer, "that the army was come to St. Alban's before the desire of the Parliament came to his hands; but that, in obedience to their commands, he would advance no farther; and desired that a month's pay might presently be sent for the army." In which they deferred not to gratify them; though as to the re-delivery of the King to the former commissioners, no other answer was returned, than "that they might rest assured, that all care should be taken for his Majesty's security."

From that time both Cromwell and Ireton appeared in the Council of Officers, which they had never before done; and their expostulations with the Parliament begun to be more brisk and contumacious than they had been. The King found himself at Newmarket attended by greater troops and superior officers; so that he was presently freed from any subjection to Mr. Joyce; which was no small satisfaction to him; and they who were about him appeared men of better breeding than the former, and paid his Majesty all the respect imaginable, and seemed to desire to please him in all things. All restraint was taken off from persons resorting to him, and he saw every day the faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his Chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his devotion,

The King brought to Newmarket; where he was allowed his Chaplains by the army.

tion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named to him (who were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Hammond) were presently sent, and gave their attendance, and performed their function at the ordinary hours, in their accustomed formalities; all persons, who had a mind to it, being suffered to be present to his Majesty's infinite satisfaction; who began to believe that the army was not so much his enemy as it was reported to be; and the army had sent an address to him full of protestation of duty, and besought him "that he would be content, for some time, to rest among them, until the affairs of the kingdom were put into such a posture as he might find all things to his own content and security; which they infinitely desired to see as soon as might be; and to that purpose made daily instances to the Parliament." In the

His Majesty removes according to the marches of the army.

mean time his Majesty sat still, or removed to such places as were most convenient for the march of the army; being in all places as well provided for and accommodated, as he had used to be in any progress; the best gentlemen of the several counties through which he passed, daily resorted to him, without distinction. he was attended by some of his old trusty servants in the places nearest his person; and that which gave him most encouragement to believe that they meant well was, that in the army's address to the Parliament, they desired "that care might be taken for settling the King's rights, according to the several professions they had made in their declarations; and that the royal party might be treated with more candour, and less rigour; and many good officers who had served his Majesty faithfully, were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived quietly in their quarters; which they could not do any where else; which raised a great reputation

utation to the army, throughout the kingdom, and as much reproach upon the Parliament.

The Parliament at this time had recovered its spirit, when they saw the army did not march nearer towards them, and not only stopped at St. Alban's, but was drawn back to a farther distance; which persuaded them, that their General was displeased with the former advance: and so they proceeded with all passion and vigour against those principal officers, who, they knew, contrived all these proceedings. They published declarations to the kingdom, "that they desired to bring the King in honour to his Parliament; which was their business from the beginning, and that he was detained prisoner against his will in the army; and that they had great reason to apprehend the safety of his person." The army, on the other hand, declared "that his Majesty was neither prisoner, nor detained against his will; and appealed to his Majesty himself, and to all his friends, who had liberty to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was not treated with more respect, since he came into the army than he had been at Holmby, or during the time he remained in those places, and with that retinue that the Parliament had appointed?" The city seemed very unanimously devoted to the Parliament, and incensed against the army; and seemed resolute, not only with their Trained Bands and auxiliary regiments to assist and defend the Parliament, but appointed some of the old-officers who had served under the Earl of Essex, and had been disbanded under the new model, as Waller, Maffey, and others, to lift new forces; towards which there was not like to be want of men out of their old forces, and such of the King's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear so much,

Transactions in the city upon those occasions,

as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the King, and unite with his party, of which there was so much shew; and many unskilful men, who wished it, bragged too much; and therefore the Parliament sent a committee to his Majesty, with an address of another style than they had lately used, with many professions of duty; and declaring, "that if he was not, in all respects, "treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not "their fault, who desired he might be at full liberty, "and do what he would;" hoping that the King would have been induced to desire to come to London, and to make complaint of the army's having taken him from Holmby; by which they believed the King's party would be disabused, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the army; and then, they thought, they should be hard enough for them.

The King was in great doubt how to carry himself; he thought himself so barbarously used by the Presbyterians, and had so ill an opinion of all the principal persons who governed them, that he had no mind to put himself into their hands. On the other side, he was far from being satisfied with the army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his friends were suffered to resort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the officers and soldiers appeared, for the most part, civil to him, they were all at least as vigilant, as the former guards had been; so that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had desired it. Fairfax had been with him, and kissed his hand, and made such professions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery; his authority was of no use, because he resigned himself entirely to Cromwell; who had been, and Ireton likewise, with the King, without

without either of them offering to kiss his hand ; otherwise, they behaved themselves with good manners towards him. His Majesty used all the address he could towards them to draw some promise from them ; but they were so reserved, and stood so much upon their guard, and used so few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they said : they excused themselves “ for not seeing his Majesty often, upon the great “ jealousies the Parliament had of them, towards whom “ they professed all fidelity.” The persons who resorted to his Majesty, and brought advices from others who durst not yet offer to come themselves, brought several opinions to him ; some thinking the army would deal sincerely with his Majesty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards performed : so that the King well concluded that he would neither reject the Parliament addresses by any neglect, nor disoblige the army by appearing to have jealousy of them, or a desire to be out of their hands ; which he could hardly have effected, if he had known a better place to have resorted to. So he desired both parties “ to hasten their consultations, that the kingdom might enjoy peace and “ happiness ; in which he should not be without a “ share ; and he would pray to God to bring this to pass “ as soon as was possible.”

The news of the King's being in the army, of his freedom in the exercise of his religion, which he had been so long without, and that some of his servants, with whom he was well pleased, had liberty to attend upon him, made every body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well ; and the King himself writ to the Queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the Scots. Sir John Berkley, after his surrender of Exeter, and the spending his six months allowed

lowed by the articles to solicit his affairs where he would, had transported himself into France, and waited upon the Queen at Paris, being still a menial servant to her Majesty, and having a friend in that Court that governed, and loved him better than any body else did. As soon as the reports came thither of the King's being with the army, he repeated many discourses he had held with the officers of the army, whilst they treated with him of the delivery of Exeter; how he had told them, "upon how slippery ground they stood; that the Parliament, when they had served their turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them very small rewards for the great service they had done for them; that they should do well, seasonably to think of a safe retreat, which could be no where but under the protection of the King; who by their courage was brought very low; and if they raised him again, he must owe it all to them; and his posterity, as well as himself, and all his party, must for ever acknowledge it; by which they would raise their fortunes, as well as their fame, to the greatest degree men could aim at;" which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that officer, whom he named, "that they told him at parting, that they should never forget what he had said to them; and that they already observed that every day produced somewhat that would put them in mind of it." In a word, "he had foretold all that was since come to pass, and he was most confident, that, if he were now with them, he should be welcome, and have credit enough to bring them to reason, and to do the King great service;" and offered, without any delay, to make the journey. The Queen believed all he said; and they who did not, were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that
loved

Loved him best, was very willing to be without him; and so receiving the Queen's letter of recommendation of him to the King, who knew him very little, and that little not without some prejudice, he left Paris, and made all possible haste into England. John Ashburnham, who was driven from the King by the Scots after he had conducted his Majesty to them, had transported himself into France, and was at this time residing in Rouen; having found, upon his address to the Queen at Paris upon his first arrival, that his abode in some other place would not be ungrateful to her Majesty, and so he removed to Rouen; where he had the society of many who had served the King in the most eminent qualifications. When he heard where the King was, and that there was not the same restraint that had been formerly, he resolved to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reason to doubt but that his presence would be very acceptable to the King; and though the other envoy from Paris, and he, did not make their journey into England together, nor had the least communication with each other, being in truth of several parties and purposes, yet they arrived there, and at the army, near the same time.

Sir John Berkley sent from the Queen to the King.

Mr. Ashburnham comes from France to the King.

Berkley first applied himself to those subordinate officers with whom he had some acquaintance at Exeter, and they informing their superiors of his arrival and application, they were well pleased that he was come. They were well acquainted with his talent, and knew his abilities, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep design from his contrivance; and so they permitted him freely to attend the King, about whose person he had no title, or relation, which required any constant waiting upon him.

Sir John Berkley, Mr. Ashburnham, with the officers.

Ashburnham had, by some friends, a recommendation both to Cromwell and Ireton, who knew the credit he had with the King, and that his Majesty would be very well pleased to have his attendance, and look upon it as a testimony of their respect to him. They knew likewise that he was an implacable enemy to the Scots, and no friend to the other Presbyterians, and though he had some ordinary craft in insinuating, he was of no deep and piercing judgment to discover what was not unwarily exposed, and a free speaker of what he imagined: so they likewise left him at liberty to repair to the King; and these two gentlemen came near about the same time to his Majesty, when the army was drawing together, with a purpose, which was not yet published, of marching to London; his Majesty being still quartered in those places which were more proper for that purpose.

They were both welcome to his Majesty, the one bringing a special recommendation from the Queen, and, to make himself the more valuable, assuring his Majesty, "that he was sent for by the officers of the army, as one they would trust, and that they had received him with open arms; and, without any scruple, gave him leave to wait upon him:" the other needed no recommendation, the King's own inclinations disposing him to be very gracious to him; and so his Majesty wished them "to correspond with each other, and to converse with his several friends, who did not yet think fit to resort to him; and to receive their advice; to discover as much as they could of the intentions of both parties, and impart what was fit to the King, till, upon a farther discovery, his Majesty might better judge what to do." These two were the principal agents, (they conferring with all his Majesty's friends,

friends, and, as often as they desired, with the officers of the army), upon whose information and advice his Majesty principally depended, though they rarely conferred together with the same persons, and never with any of the officers, who pretended not to trust one another enough to speak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance among the officers not being principally with the same men, their informations and advices were often very different, and more perplexed than informed his Majesty.

The very high contests between the Parliament and the army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent men believe that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the King the umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The Parliament thought that their name and authority, which had carried them through so great undertakings, and reduced the whole kingdom to their obedience, could not be overpowered by their own army, raised and paid by themselves, and to whose dictates the people would never submit. They thought the King's presence amongst them gave them all their present reputation; and were not without apprehension that the ambition of some of the officers, and their malice to the Parliament, when they saw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might dispose them to an entire conjunction with the King's party and interest; and then, all the penalties of treason, rebellion, and trespasses, must be discharged at their costs; and therefore they laboured, by all the public and private means they could, to persuade the King to own his being detained prisoner by the army against his will, or to withdraw himself by some way from them, and repair to Whitehall; and, in either of those cases,

The different designs of the Parliament and army at this time relating to the King.

they did not doubt, first, to divide the army, (for they still believed the General fast to them), and by degrees to bring them to reason, and to be disbanded, as many as were not necessary for the service of Ireland; and then, having the King to themselves, and all his party being obnoxious to those penalties for their delinquency, they should be well able, by gratifying some of the greatest persons of the nobility with immunity and indemnity, to settle the government in such a manner, as to be well recompensed for all the adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the army had no dread of the authority and power of the Parliament; which they knew had been so far prostituted, that it had lost most of its reverence with the people. But it had great apprehension, that, by its conjunction with the city, it might indeed recover credit with the kingdom, and withhold the pay of the army, and thereby make some division amongst them; and if the person of the King should be likewise with them, and thereby his party should likewise join with them, they should be to begin their work again, or to make their peace with those who were as much provoked by them as the King himself had been. And therefore they were sensible that they enjoyed a present benefit by the King's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward respect that was due to his Majesty, and the civilities they made profession of towards all his party, and the permission of his chaplains, and other servants, to resort to him; and cultivated all these artifices with great address, suppressing or discountenancing the tyranny of the Presbyterians in the country committees, and all other places, where they exercised notable rigour against all who had been of the King's party, or not enough of theirs, (for neuters found

no excuse for being of no party.) When they found it fit to make any lusty declaration against the Parliament, and exclaim against their tyrannical proceedings against the army, they always inserted somewhat that might look like candour and tenderness towards the King's party, complained of "the affront and indignity done to the army by the Parliament's not observing the articles which had been made upon surrender of garri-sons, but proceeding against those on whose behalf those articles were made, with more severity than was agreeable to justice, and to the intention of the articles; whereby the honour and faith of the army suffered, and was complained of; all which, they said, they would have remedied." Whereupon many hoped that they should be excused from making any compositions, and entertained such other imaginations as pleased themselves, and the other party well liked; knowing they could demolish all those structures as soon as they received no benefit by them themselves.

The King had, during the time he stayed at Holmby, writ to the House of Peers, that his children might have leave to come to him, and to reside for some time with him. From the time that Oxford had been surrendered, upon which the Duke of York had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he should have liberty to go to such place as the King should direct, which was very earnestly pressed, and insisted on by the lords of the Council there, as long as they could; but appointed their committee to receive him with all respect, and to bring him to London: from that time, I say, the Duke of York was committed to the care of the Earl of Northumberland, together with the Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess, who had been by the King left under the tuition of the Countess of Dorset, but

from the death of that Countess the Parliament had presumed, that they might be sure to keep them in their power, to put them into the custody of the Lady Vere, an old lady much in their favour, but not at all ambitious of that charge, though there was a competent allowance assigned for their support. They were now removed from her, and placed all together with the Earl of Northumberland, who received and treated them, in all respects, as was suitable to their birth, and his own duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his instructions from the Parliament, permitted to do; and they had absolutely refused to gratify the King in that particular; of which his Majesty no sooner took notice to Fairfax, than he writ a letter to the Parliament, "that the King much desired
 "to have the sight and company of his children, and
 "that if they might not be allowed to be longer with
 "him, that at least they might dine with him;" and he sent them word that, on such a day, "the King, who
 "attended the motion of the army, and was quartered
 "only where they pleased, would dine at Maidenhead."

The King
 allowed to
 see his chil-
 dren at
 Maiden-
 head and
 Caversham.

There his children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to quarter and stay some time at Caversham, a house of the Lord Craven's, near Reading, his children were likewise suffered to go thither, and remained with him two days; which was the greatest satisfaction the King could receive; and the receiving whereof he imputed to the civility of the General, and the good disposition of the army; which made so much the more impression upon him, in that he had never made any one proposition in which he had been gratified, where the Presbyterian spirit had power to deny it.

In the House of Commons, which was now the scene
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of all the action that displeased and incensed the army, (for the House of Peers was shrunk into so inconsiderable a number, and their persons not considerable after the death of the Earl of Essex, except those who were affected to, or might be disposed by, the army), they were wholly guided by Hollis, and Stapleton, Lewis, and Glyn, who had been very popular and notorious from the beginning, and by Waller, and Massiey, and Brown, who had served in commands in the army, and performed at some times very signal service, and were exceedingly beloved in the city, and two or three others who followed their dictates, and were subservient to their directions. These were all men of parts, interest, and signal courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they discerned the army to have, and that it was wholly to be disposed according to the designs of Cromwell, but had likewise declared animosities against the persons of the most active and powerful officers; as Hollis had one day, upon a very hot debate in the House, and some rude expressions which fell from Ireton, persuaded him to walk out of the House with him, and then told him, "that he should presently go over the water and fight with him." Ireton replying, "his conscience would not suffer him to fight a duel;" Hollis, in choler, pulled him by the nose; telling him, "if his conscience would keep him from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking them." This affront to the third person of the army, and to a man of the most virulent, malicious, and revengeful nature of all the pack, so incensed the whole party, that they were resolved one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the House, and that reputation abroad, that when he could not absolutely

olutely control their designs, he did so obstruct them, that they could not advance to any conclusion.

The army
impeach
eleven
members of
the House
of Com-
mons.

They resorted therefore to an expedient, which, they had observed, by the conduct of those very men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired; and, in the Council of Officers, prepared an impeachment of high treason in general terms against Mr. Hollis, and the persons mentioned before, and others, to the number of eleven members of the House of Commons. This impeachment twelve officers of the army, colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, and captains, presented to the House; and within few days after, when they saw the same members still inveigh against and arraign their proceedings, the General and officers writ a letter to the House, "that they would appoint fit persons on their and the kingdom's behalf, to make good the charge against those members whom they had accused; and that they desired, that those members impeached might be forthwith suspended from sitting in the House; since it could not be thought fit that the same persons who had so much injured and provoked the army, should sit judges of their own actions." This was an arrow that the House of Commons did not expect would have been shot out of that quiver; and though they were unspeakably dismayed, and distracted with this presumption, they answered positively, "that they neither would, nor could, sequester those members from the House, who had never said or done any thing in the House worthy of censure, till proof were made of such particulars as might render them guilty." But the officers of the army replied, "that they could prove them guilty of such practices in the House, that it would
" be

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

“ be just in the House to suspend them: that by the
“ laws of the land, and the precedents of Parliament, the
“ Lords had, upon the very presentation of a general ac-
“ cusation without being reduced in form, sequestered
“ from their House and committed the Earl of Straf-
“ ford, and the Archbishop of Canterbury; and there-
“ fore they must press, and insist upon the suspending
“ at least of those accused members from being present
“ in the House, where they stood impeached; and with-
“ out this, they said, the army would not be satisfied.”
However the House of Commons seemed still resolute,
the accused members themselves, who best knew their
temper, thought it safer for them to retire, and by for-
bearing to appear in the House, to allay the heat of the
present contest.

Upon this so palpable declension of spirit in the
House, the army seemed much quieter, and resolved
set other agents on their work, that they might not
appear too busy and active in their own concerns.
It is very true that the city, upon whose influence
Parliament much depended, appeared now en-
tirely Presbyterian; the Court of Aldermen, and Com-
mon Council, consisted chiefly of men of that spirit.
The militia of the city was committed to that spirit
carefully and factiously chosen of that party; al-
though of another temper having been put out of those
at or about the time that the King was delivered
the Scots, when the officers of the army were
that the Presbyterians should believe, that they
might settle what government was in them; and that
power of the kingdom should believe, that they
maintained any persons in any of those employments
city, it was by their dissimulation, and pretence
have other affections; most of those who were

ous to be of any other faction in religion, had been put out; and lived as neglected and discountenanced men; who seemed rather to depend upon the clemency and indulgence of the State, for their particular liberty in the exercise of that religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any share or part in the government: yet, after all this dissimulation, Cromwell and Ireton well knew, that the multitude of inferior people were at their disposal, and would appear in any conjuncture they should think convenient; and that many aldermen and substantial citizens were quiet, and appeared not to contradict or oppose the Presbyterians, only by their directions; and would be ready upon their call. And now, when they saw those leading men, who had governed the Parliament, prosecuted by the army, and that they forbore to come to the House, there flocked together great numbers of the lowest and most inferior people, to the Parliament, with petitions of several natures, both with reference to religion and to the civil government; with the noise and clamour whereof the Parliament was so offended and disturbed, that they made an ordinance, "that it should be criminal to gather and solicit the "subscriptions of hands to petitions." But this order so offended all parties, that they were compelled, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all men to their natural liberty. Whilst this confusion was in the city and Parliament, the commissioners, which had been sent to the army to treat with the officers, had no better success; but returned with the positive and declared resolution of the army, "that a declaration should be published by the Parliament against the coming in of foreign "force:" for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the people should apprehend, a new combination by the
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the Scots: "that the pay of the army should be put into a constant course, and all persons who had received money, should be called to an account: that the militia of London should be put into the hands of persons well affected, and those who had been formerly trusted: that all persons imprisoned for pretended misdemeanours, by order of Parliament, or their committees, might be set at liberty; and, if upon trial they should be found innocent, that they might have good reparation." And they particularly mentioned John Lilburn, Overton, and other Anabaptists and Fanatics, who had been committed by the Parliament for many seditious meetings, under pretence of exercise of their religion, and many insolent actions against the government. Upon the report of these demands, the Parliament grew more enraged; and voted, "that the yielding to the army in these particulars would be against their honour, and their interest, and destructive to their privileges;" with many expressions against their presumption and insolence: yet, when a new rabble of petitioners demanded, with loud cries, most of the same things, they were willing to compound with them; and consented that the militia of the city of London should be put into such hands as the army should desire.

The militia of the city had been in the beginning of May, shortly after the King's being brought to Holmby, settled with the consent, and upon the desire, of the Common Council, by ordinance of Parliament, in the hands of commissioners, who were generally of the Presbyterian party, they who were of other inclinations being removed; and as is said before, seemed not displeased at their situation: and now, when upon the clamours and demands of the army, seconded by

ous petitions, they saw this ordinance reversed, in July, without so much as consulting with the Common Council according to custom, the city was exceedingly startled; and said, "that if the imperious command of the army could prevail with the Parliament to reverse such an ordinance as that of the militia, they had reason to apprehend they might as well repeal the other ordinances for the security of money, or for the purchase of Bishops' and Church lands, or whatsoever else that was the proper security of the subject." And therefore they caused a petition to be prepared in the name of the city, to be presented by the two Sheriffs, and others deputed by the Common Council to that purpose. But, before they were ready, many thousands, apprentices and young citizens, brought petitions to the Parliament; in which they said, "that the command of the militia of the city was the birth-right of the city, and belonged to them by several charters which had been confirmed in Parliament; for defence whereof, they said, they had ventured their lives as far and as frankly as the army had done; and therefore, they desired that the ordinance of Parliament of the fourth of May, which had passed with their consent, might stand inviolable." They first presented their petition to the House of Peers, who immediately revoked their late ordinance of July, and confirmed their former of May; and sent it down to the Commons for their consent; who durst not deny their concurrence, the apprentices behaving themselves so insolently, that they would scarce suffer the door of the House of Commons to be shut; and some of them went into the House.

A tumultuous petition of apprentices, and others, to both Houses concerning their militia.

And in this manner the ordinance was reversed that had been made at the desire of the army, and the other of May ratified and confirmed; which was no sooner done

done than the Parliament adjourned till Friday, that they might have two or three days to consider how they should behave themselves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The army had quickly notice of these extraordinary proceedings, and the General writ a very sharp letter to the Parliament from Bedford; in which he put them in mind, "how civilly the army had complied with their desire, by removing to a greater distance, upon presumption that their own authority would have been able to have secured them from any rudeness, and violence of the people; which it was now evident it could not do, by the unparalleled violation of all their privileges, on the Monday before, by a multitude from the city, which had been encouraged by several common council men, and other citizens in authority; which was an act so prodigious and horrid as must dissolve all government, if not severely and exemplarily chastized: that the army looked upon themselves as accountable to the kingdom, if this unheard of outrage, by which the peace and settlement of the nation, and the relief of Ireland, had been so notoriously interrupted, should not be strictly examined, and justice speedily done upon the offenders." Upon Friday, to which both Houses had adjourned, the members came together, in as full numbers as they had used to meet, there being above one hundred and forty of the House of Commons; but, after they had sate some time in expectation of their Speaker, they were informed that he was gone out of the town early that morning; and they observed that Sir Henry Vane, and some few other members who used to concur with him, were likewise absent. The House of Peers found likewise that the Earl of Manchester, their Speaker, had withdrawn himself, together with the Earl

Upon this the General writ a very sharp letter to the Parliament.

The two Speakers, with other members of the two Houses, withdrew to the army.

Both Houses chose new Speakers; and their votes.

Earl of Northumberland, and some other lords; but the major part still remained there, full of indignation against those who were absent, and who they all concluded were gone to the army. Hereupon both Houses chose new Speakers; who accepted the office; and the Commons presently voted, "that the eleven members who stood impeached by the army, and had discontinued coming to the House, should presently appear, and take their places." They made an ordinance of Parliament, by which a committee of safety was appointed to join with the city militia, and had authority to raise men for the defence of the Parliament; which they appeared so vigorously resolved on, that no man in the Houses, or in the city, seemed to intend any thing else. The news of this roused up the army, and the General presently sent a good party of horse into Windsor, and marched himself to Uxbridge, and appointed a general rendezvous for the whole army upon Hounslow Heath, within two days; when and where there appeared twenty thousand foot and horse, with a train of artillery, and all other provisions proportionable to such an army.

Rendezvous of the army appointed on Hounslow Heath, and the King removed to Hampton Court.

As soon as the rendezvous was appointed at Hounslow Heath, at the same time the King removed to Hampton Court; which was prepared, and put into as good order for his reception, as could have been done in the best time. The Houses seemed for some time to retain their spirit and vigour, and the city talked of lifting men, and defending themselves, and not suffering the army to approach nearer to them: but, when they knew the day of the rendezvous, those in both Houses who had been too weak to carry any thing, and so had looked on whilst such votes were passed as they liked not and could not oppose, now when their friend the army was so near, recovered their spirits, and talked

very

very loud; and persuaded the rest, "to think in time of making their peace with the army, that could not be withstood." And the city grew every day more appalled, irresolute, and confounded, one man proposing this, and another somewhat contrary to that, like men amazed and distracted. When the army met upon Hounslow Heath at their rendezvous, the Speakers of both Houses, who had privately before met with the chief officers of the army, appeared there with their wives, and such other members as accompanied them; complaining to the General, "that they had not freedom at Westminster, but were in danger of their lives by the tumults;" and appealed to the army for their protection.

Both Speakers, and the other members, appear in the army on Hounslow Heath.

This looked like a new act of Providence to vindicate the army from all reproaches, and to justify them in all they had done, as absolutely done for the preservation of the Parliament and kingdom. If this had been a retreat of Sir Harry Vane and some other discontented men, who were known to be Independents, and fanatics in their opinions in religion, and of the army faction, who, being no longer able to oppose the wisdom of the Parliament, had fled to their friends for protection from justice, they would have got no reputation, nor the army been thought the better of for their company: but neither of the Speakers were ever looked upon as inclined to the army; Lenthall was generally believed to have no malice towards the King, and not to be without good inclinations to the Church; and the Earl of Manchester, who was Speaker of the House of Peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable against Cromwell; and had formerly accused him of want of duty to the Parliament; and the other hated him above all men, and desired to have taken away his life. The Earl of Manchester

chester and the Earl of Warwick were the two pillars of the Presbyterian party; and that they two, with the Earl of Northumberland, and some other of the Lords, and some of the Commons, who had appeared to disapprove all the proceedings of the army, should now join with Sir Harry Vane, and appeal to the army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole Parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the city, appeared to every stander-by so stupendous a thing, that it is not to this day understood otherwise, than that they were resolved to have their particular shares in the treaty, which they believed the chief officers of the army to have near concluded with the King. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the army, nor had any kindness to, or confidence in, the officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much the city was devoted to them, it is probable that the army would not have used any force; which might have received a fatal repulse; but that some good compromise might have been made by the interposition of the King. But this schism carried all the reputation and authority to the army, and left none in the Parliament; for though it presently appeared, that the number of those who left the Houses was small in comparison of those who remained behind, and who proceeded with the same vigour in declaring against the army, and the city seemed as resolute in putting themselves into a posture, and preparing for their defence, all their works and fortifications being still entire, so that they might have put the army to great trouble if they had steadily pursued their resolutions, (which they did not yet seem in any degree to decline), yet this rent made all the accused members,

members, who were the men of parts and reputation to conduct their counsels, to withdraw themselves upon the astonishment; some concealing themselves, till they had opportunity to make their peace, and others withdrawing and transporting themselves beyond the seas; whereof Stapleton died at Calais as soon as he landed, and was denied burial upon imagination that he had died of the plague: others remained a long time beyond the seas; and, though they long after returned, never were received into any trust in those times, nor in truth concurred or acted in the public affairs, but retired to their own estates, and lived very privately.

The chief officers of the army received the two Speakers, and the members who accompanied them, as so many angels sent from heaven for their good; paid them all the respect imaginable, and professed all submission to them, as to the Parliament of England; and declared, "that they would re-establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt;" took very particular care for their accommodations, before the General; and assigned a guard to wait upon them for their security; acquainted them with all their consultations; and would not presume to resolve any thing without their approbation; and they had too much modesty to think they could do amiss, who had prospered so much in all their undertakings. No time was lost in pursuing their resolution to establish the Parliament again at Westminster; and finding that the rest of the members continued still to sit there with the same formality, and that the city did not abate any of their spirit, they seemed to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better understanding between them, upon the messages they every day sent to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common Council, (for of those at Westminster they

took no notice), and quartered their army about Brentford, and Hounslow, Twickenham, and the adjacent villages, without restraining any provisions, which every day according to custom were carried to London, or doing the least action that might disoblige or displease the city; the army being in truth under so excellent discipline, that nobody could complain of any damage sustained by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they sent over Colonel Rainborough with a brigade of horse and foot, and cannon, at Hampton Court, to possess Southwark, and those works which secured that end of London-bridge; which he did with so little noise, that in one night's march he found himself master without any opposition, not only of the Borough of Southwark, but of all the works and forts which were to defend it; the soldiers within shaking hands with those without, and refusing to obey their officers which were to command them: so that the city, without knowing that any such thing was in agitation, found in the morning that all that avenue to the town was possessed by the enemy; whom they were providing to resist on the other side, being as confident of this that they had lost, as of any gate of the city.

This struck them dead; and put an end to all their consultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify those whom they had so much offended and provoked; and how they might preserve their city from plunder, and the fury of an enraged army. They who had ever been of the army party, and of late had shut themselves up, and not dared to walk the streets for fear of the people, came now confidently amongst them, and mingled in their councils; declared, "that the King and the army were now agreed
" in all particulars, and that both Houses were now with
" the

" the army, and had presented themselves to the King ;
 " so that to oppose the army would be to oppose the
 " King and Parliament, and to incense them as much
 " as the army." Upon such confident discourses and in-
 sinuations from those with whom they would not have
 conversed, or given the least credit to, three days before,
 or rather upon the confusion and general distraction they
 were in, they sent six aldermen and six commoners to the The city
sends six
aldermen
to the Ge-
neral, and
submits. General ; who lamented and complained, " that the
 " city should be suspected, that had never acted any
 " thing against the Parliament ; and therefore, they de-
 " fired him to forbear doing any thing that might be
 " the occasion of a new war." But the General little
 considered this message, and gave less countenance to
 the messengers ; but continued his slow marches towards
 the city : whereupon they sent an humble message to
 him, " that since they understood that the reason of his
 " march so near London was to restore and settle the
 " members (the Lords and Commons) of Parliament to
 " the liberty and privilege of sitting securely in their se-
 " veral Houses, (to which the city would contribute all
 " their power and service), they prayed him, with all
 " submission, that he would be pleased to send such a
 " guard of horse and foot as he thought to be sufficient
 " for that purpose ; and that the ports and all passages
 " should be open to them ; and they should do any
 " thing else that his Excellency would command." To
 which he made no other answer but " that he would
 " have all the forts of the west side of the city to be
 " delivered immediately to him ;" those of the other
 side being already, as is said, in the hands of Rainbo-
 rough and his other officers. The Common Council,
 that same day and night, upon the receipt of this mes-
 sage, without any pause returned " that they would
 " humbly

“humbly submit to his command; and that now, under Almighty God, they did rely only upon his Excellency’s honourable word for their protection and security.” And so they caused their militia to be forthwith drawn off from the line, as well as out of the forts, with all their cannon and ordnance; and the General appointed a better guard to both. At Hyde Park the Mayor and Aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival; and besought him “to excuse what they had, out of their good meaning and desire of peace, done amiss;” and as a testimony of their affection and duty, the Mayor, on the behalf of the city, presented a great gold cup to the General; which he fully refused to receive, and, with very little ceremony, dismissed them.

The General conducts the two Speakers and other members to their several Houses of Parliament.

He himself waited upon the two Speakers, and conducted them, and their members, to the several Houses, where the other members were then sitting: even in the instant when the revolvers, as they had called them, entered into the Houses, the old Speakers assumed their places again, and entered upon their business, as if there had been no separation. The first thing they did, was calling in the General into both Houses, and making him a large acknowledgment in the name of each House, of the great favours he had done to them: they thanked him “for the protection he had given to their persons, and his vindication of the privileges of Parliament.” Then they voted “all that had been done by themselves in going to the army, and in residing there, and all that had been done by the army, to be well and lawfully done;” as, some time after, they also voted, “that all that had been done in the Houses since their departure, was against law, and privilege of Parliament, invalid and void:” then they adjourned to the

next

next day, without questioning or punishing any member who had acted there.

The army of horse, foot, and cannon, marched the ^{The army} next day through the city, (which, upon the desire of ^{marches through the} the Parliament, undertook forthwith to supply an hun- ^{city, and} dred thousand pounds for the payment of the army), ^{quarters about it,} without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any person, or giving any disrespectful word to any man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent discipline, and that both officers and soldiers were men of extraordinary temper and sobriety. So they marched over London-bridge into Southwark, and to those quarters to which they were assigned; some regiments were quartered in Westminster, the Strand, and Holborn, under pretence of being a guard to the Parliament, but intended as a guard upon the city. The General's head-quarters were at Chelsea, and the rest of the army quartered between Hampton Court and London, that the King might be well looked to; and the Council of Officers, and Agitators, sat constantly and formally at Fulham and Putney, to provide that no other settlement should be made for the government of the kingdom than what they should well approve.

Whilst these things were thus agreed between the ^{the King at} army and the Parliament and the city, the King enjoyed ^{himself} himself at Hampton Court, much more to his content than he had of late: the respects of the chief officers of the army seeming much greater than they had been: Cromwell himself came often to him, and had longer conferences with him: talked with more openness to Mr. Ashburnham than he had done, and appeared more cheerful. Persons of a common reputation in the jealousy of those who had served him: with whom he conferred without reserve: and the common people the

ther as they had used to do at the end of a progress, when the King had been some months absent from London: but that which pleased his Majesty most, was, that his children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. They were all at the Earl of Northumberland's house, at Sion, from the time the King came to Hampton Court, and had liberty to attend his Majesty when he pleased; so that sometimes he sent for them to come to Hampton Court, and sometimes he went to them to Sion; which gave him great satisfaction.

The King's discourse and conversation with his children that were in the Parliament's power.

In this conversation, as if his Majesty had foreseen all that befell him afterwards, and which at that time sure he did not suspect, he took great care to instruct his children how to behave themselves, if the worst should befall him that the worst of his enemies did contrive or wish; and "that they should preserve unshaken their affection and duty to the Prince their brother." The Duke of York was then about fourteen years of age; and so, capable of any information or instruction the King thought fit to give him. His Majesty told him, "that he looked upon himself as in the hands and disposal of the army, and that the Parliament had no more power to do him good or harm, than as the army should direct or permit; and that he knew not, in all this time he had been with them, what he might promise himself from those officers of the army at whose devotion it was: that he hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and therefore he gave him this general direction and command, that if there appeared any such alteration in the affection of the army, that they restrained him from the liberty he then enjoyed of seeing his children, or suffered not his friends to resort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at

"pre-

“ present, he might conclude they would shortly use
“ him worse, and that he should not be long out of
“ a prison; and therefore that from the time he dis-
“ covered such an alteration, he should bethink him-
“ self how he might make an escape out of their power,
“ and transport himself beyond the seas.” The place
he recommended to him was Holland; where he pre-
sumed his sister would receive him very kindly, and that
the Prince of Orange her husband would be well pleased
with it, though, possibly, the States might restrain him
from making those expressions of his affection his own
inclination prompted him to. He wished him to think
always of this, as a thing possible to fall out, and so spoke
frequently to him of it, and of the circumstances and
cautions which were necessary to attend it.

The Princess Elizabeth was not above a year or two
younger than the Duke, a lady of excellent parts, great
observation, and an early understanding; which the
King discerned, by the account she gave him both of
things and persons, upon the experience she had had of
both. His Majesty enjoined her, “ upon the worst
“ that could befall him, never to be disposed of in mar-
“ riage without the consent and approbation of the
“ Queen her mother, and the Prince her brother; and
“ always to perform all duty and obedience to both
“ those; and to obey the Queen in all things, except in
“ matter of religion; in which he commanded her,
“ upon his blessing, never to hearken or consent to her;
“ but to continue firm in the religion she had been in-
“ structed and educated in, what discountenance and
“ ruin soever might befall the poor Church, at that time
“ under so severe prosecution.”

The Duke of Gloucester was very young, being at
that time not above seven years old, and so might well

be thought incapable of retaining that advice, and injunction, which in truth ever after made so deep impression in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of religion, and commanded him positively, “ never to be persuaded or “ threatened out of the religion of the Church, in which “ he hoped he would be well instructed, and for the “ purity and integrity whereof he bid him remember “ that he had his father’s testimony and authority ;” his Majesty told him, “ that his infancy, and the tenderness of his years, might persuade some men to hope “ and believe, that he might be made an instrument, “ and property, to advance their wicked designs ; and “ if they should take away his life, they might, possibly, “ the better to attain their own ends, make him king ; “ that under him, whilst his age would not permit him “ to judge, and act for himself, they might remove “ many obstructions which lay in their way ; and form “ and unite their councils ; and then they would destroy “ him too. But he commanded him, upon his blessing, “ never to forget what he said to him upon this occasion, nor to accept, or suffer himself to be made king, “ whilst either of his elder brothers lived, in what part “ of the world soever they should be : that he should “ remember that the Prince his brother was to succeed “ him by the laws of God and man ; and, if he should “ miscarry, that the Duke of York was to succeed in the “ same right ; and therefore that he should be sure never “ to be made use of to interrupt or disturb either of “ their rights ; which would in the end turn to his own “ destruction.” And this discourse the King reiterated to him, as often as he had liberty to see him, with all the earnestness and passion he could express ; which was so fixed in his memory that he never forgot it.

And

And many years after, when he was sent out of England, he made the full relation of all the particulars to me, with that commotion of spirit, that it appeared to be deeply rooted in him; and made use of one part of it very seasonably afterwards, where there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted him in his religion, and to persuade him to become Roman Catholic for the advancement of his fortune.

In this manner, and with these kind of reflections, the King made use of the liberty he enjoyed: and considered as well, what remedies to apply to the worst that could fall out, as to care for the officers of the army in order to the improvement of his condition. At which he was not yet in despair; the chief officers, and all the heads of that party, looking upon it as the best policy to cherish the King's hopes by the best they gave him, and by a very flowing manner, and all who had been of his party; whose passion, and good word, and testimony, they found a great deal of good both in the city and the country.

At this time the Lord Cap. who was a great hearing of the difference between the King and the army, left his two friends then in France, and went to Paris to the Prince, that he might have the approbation of his going for France. He willingly gave; well knowing the great opportunities, with great danger, and great service: and then that he might be in France, his friends having been in France before they endeavored to go to France, which they easily did, and so he had liberty to go to France, where he was no where.

gence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the King at Hampton Court; and gave him a particular account of all that passed at Jersey, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reasons which induced those of the Council to remain still there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majesty had never before been thoroughly informed, and which put it out of any body's power to do the Chancellor of the Exchequer any ill offices: and from thence the King writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind letter to the Chancellor at Jersey; full of hope "that he should conclude such a treaty with the army and Parliament, that he should shortly draw him, and some other of his friends, to him." He thanked him "for undertaking the work he was upon; and told him, he should expect speedily to receive some contribution from him towards it;" and, within a very short time afterwards, he sent to him his own memorials (or those which by his command had been kept, and were perused, and corrected by himself) of all that had passed from the time he had left his Majesty at Oxford, when he waited upon the Prince into the West, to the very day that the King left Oxford to go to the Scots; out of which memorials, as hath been said before, the most important passages in the years 1644, and 1645, are faithfully collected. To the Lord Capel his Majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him; and "that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations; in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the Presbyterians in England; and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by

"the

The Lord
Capel waits
on the King
at Hamp-
ton Court
from Jersey.

The sub-
stance of the
King's let-
ter to the
Chancellor
of the Ex-
chequer.

“ the success of the other :” and therefore desired Capel
 “ to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends to-
 “ gether ;” which he promised to do effectually ; and
 did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loss of his own
 life. Then the King enjoined him “ to write to the
 “ Chancellor of the Exchequer, that whenever the
 “ Queen, or Prince, should require him to come to
 “ them, he should not fail to yield obedience to their
 “ command ;” and himself writ to the Queen, “ that
 “ whenever the season should be ripe for the Prince
 “ to engage himself in any action, she should not
 “ fail to send for the Chancellor of the Exchequer
 “ to wait upon him in it.” And many times were
 then adjusted, upon the foresight of future con-
 gencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be ex-
 ecuted.

The Marquis of Ormond had, by special command
 and order from the King whilst he was at New-
 castle, delivered up the city of London to the
 Parliament, after the Irish had so infirmly ob-
 served the peace they had made with the King.
 His whole army before Dublin to be before the
 election than to deliver it to the Parliament ; of
 which his Majesty being informed, he should give
 it to the Parliament, did, with full conditions for
 his Majesty ; and so transported from London, pre-
 sented himself at the House of Commons as a person
 who had no delinquency, and with the good
 men that were then in the application to the

And Scotch
tish com-
missioners.

relying upon the articles the Parliament had signed to him; by which he had liberty to stay so many months in England, and at the end thereof to transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, if in the mean time he made no composition with the Parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous eyes upon him, he repaired frequently to present his duty to the King; who was exceedingly pleased to confer with him, and to find that he was resolved to undertake any enterprize that might advance his service; which the King himself, and most other men who wished well to it, did at that time believe to be in no desperate condition. And no men were fuller of professions of duty, and a resolution to run all hazards, than the Scottish commissioners; who, from the time they had delivered up the King, resided at London with their usual confidence, and loudly complained of the presumption of the army in seizing upon the person of the King, insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant, and inseparable from the interest of the Crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole nation would be united, to a man, in any enterprize for his service. And now, from the time his Majesty came to Hampton Court, they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to Edinburgh; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their persons were known to be most odious to all the great officers in the army, and to those who now governed in the Parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavoured to be performed the next year ensuing, and which the Scots themselves then communicated to the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Capel, and other trusty persons; as if there was
nothing

nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his Majesty's rights and interest.

When the army had thus subdued all opposition, and the Parliament and they seemed all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the city seemed to be suppressed; and totally tamed, the army seemed less regardful of the King than they had been; the chief officers came rarely to Hampton Court, nor had they the same countenances towards Ashburnham, and Berkley, as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, asked captious questions, and gave answers themselves of no signification. The Agitators, and Council of Officers, sent some propositions to the King, as ruinous to the Church and destructive to the regal power, as had been yet made by the Parliament; and, in some respects, much worse, and more dishonourable; and said, "if his Majesty would consent thereunto, they would apply themselves to the Parliament, and do the best they could to persuade them to be of the same opinion." But his Majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the officers, for having deluded him, and having prevailed in all their own designs, by making the world believe that they intended his Majesty's restoration and settlement, upon better conditions than the Parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of resentment, the army took itself to be disobliged, and used another language in their discourse of the King than they had, for some months, done; and such officers who had formerly served the King, and had been civilly treated and sheltered in the quarters of the army, were now driven from thence. They who had been kind to them, withdrew themselves from their acquaintance; and the sequestrations of all the estates of the Cavaliers, which

The army
begins to
be less re-
gardful of
the King

which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practised, and the declared Delinquents racked to as high compositions; which if they refused to make, their whole estates were taken from them, and their persons exposed to affronts, and insecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the Presbyterian humour in the Parliament against the judgment of the army: and it is very true, that though the Parliament was so far subdued, that it no more found fault with what the army did, nor complained that it meddled in determining what settlement should be made in the government; yet, in all their own acts and proceedings, they prosecuted a Presbyterian settlement as earnestly as they could. The Covenant was pressed in all places, and the Anabaptists and other sects, which begun to abound, were punished, restrained, and discountenanced; which the army liked not, as a violation of the liberty of tender consciences; which, they pretended, was as much the original of the quarrel, as any other grievance whatsoever.

The University of Oxford visited by the Parliament.

In this year, 1647, they had begun a visitation of the University of Oxford; which they finished not till the next year; in which the Earl of Pembroke had been contented to be employed as Chancellor of the University, who had taken an oath to defend the rights and privileges of the University: notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his understanding, and the miserable compliance of his nature, he suffered himself to be made a property in joining with Brent, Pryn, and some committee men, and Presbyterian ministers, as commissioners for the Parliament to reform the discipline and erroneous doctrine of that famous University, by the rule of the Covenant; which was the standard of all men's learning, and ability to govern; all persons
of

of what quality soever being required to subscribe that test; which the whole body of the Univerfity was fo far from submitting to, that they met in their Convocation, and, to their eternal renown, (being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison, put over them by the Parliament; the King in prison; and all their hopes desperate), passed a public act, and declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the Assembly of the Divines, (which then sat at Westminster, forming a new catechism, and scheme of religion), ever ventured to make any answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answered, but must remain to the world's end, as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty, of that excellent place, against the highest malice and tyranny that was ever exercised in or over any nation; and which those famous commissioners only answered by expelling all those who refused to submit to their jurisdiction, or to take the Covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole Univerfity; scarce one governor, and master of college or hall, and an incredible small number of the fellows, or scholars, submitting to either: whereupon that desolation being made, they placed in their rooms the most notorious factious Presbyterians, in the government of the several colleges or halls; and such other of the same leaven in the fellowships, and scholars' places, of those whom they had expelled, without any regard to the statutes of the several Founders, and the incapacities of the persons that were put in. The omnipotence of an ordinance of Parliament confirmed all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending against it.

The Oxford
Reasons
against the
Covenant
passed in
Convoca-
tion at this
time.

It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and
barbarous

barbarous depopulation would even extirpate all that learning, religion, and loyalty, which had so eminently flourished there ; and that the succeeding ill husbandry, and unskilful cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in ignorance, profanation, atheism, and rebellion ; but, by God's wonderful blessing, the goodness and richness of that soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. It choaked the weeds, and would not suffer the poisonous seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up ; but after several tyrannical governments, mutually succeeding each other, and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to extinguish all good literature and allegiance, it yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning ; and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning, and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught ; so that when it pleased God to bring King Charles the Second back to his throne, he found that University (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been industriously poured into it) abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience, little inferior to what it was before its desolation ; which was a lively instance of God's mercy, and purpose, for ever so to provide for his Church, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it ; which were never opened wider, nor with more malice, than in that time.

These violent proceedings in all places, blasted all the King's hopes, and put an end to all the rest and quiet he had for some time enjoyed ; nor could he devise any remedy. • He was weary of depending upon the army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whither else to resort

resort for help. The officers of those guards which were assigned to attend his person, and who had behaved themselves with good manners, and duty towards him, and very civilly towards those of his party who had used to wait upon his Majesty, begun now to murmur at so great resort to him, and to use many, who came, rudely; and not to suffer them to go into the room where the King was; or, which was worse, put them out when they were there; and when his Majesty seemed to take notice and be troubled at it, they appeared not to be concerned, nor answered him with that duty they had used to do. They affronted the Scottish commissioners very notably, and would not suffer them to speak with the King; which caused an expostulation from the Parliament; which removed the obstruction for the future, but procured no satisfaction for the injury they had received, nor made the same officers more civil towards their persons. Ashburnham and Berkley received many advertisements from some officers with whom they had most conversed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been restored by the army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their share, "that Cromwell and Ireton resolved never to trust the King, or to do any thing towards his restoration;" and they two steered the whole body; and therefore it was advised, "that some way might be found to remove his Majesty out of their hands." Major Huntington, one of the best officers they had, and Major to Cromwell's own regiment of horse, upon whom he relied in any enterprise of importance more than upon any man, had been employed by him to the King, to say those things from him which ~~had given~~ the King the most confidence, and was much ~~more than~~ he had ever said to Ashburnham; and the ~~King~~ ~~was~~

really believe that he had meant all he said, and the King had a good opinion of the integrity of the Major, upon the testimony he had received from some he knew had no mind to deceive his Majesty; and the man merited the testimony they gave him. He, when he observed Cromwell to grow colder in his expressions for the King than he had formerly been, expostulated with him in very sharp terms, for "abusing him, and making him "the instrument to cozen the King;" and, though the other endeavoured to persuade him that all should be well, he informed his Majesty of all he had observed; and told him, "that Cromwell was a villain, and would "destroy him if he were not prevented;" and, in a short time after, he gave up his commission, and would serve no longer in the army. Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained "that the King "could not be trusted; and that he had no affection or "confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and "of all the officers: that he had intrigues in the Parlia- "ment, and treaties with the Presbyterians of the city, "to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded "with the Scottish commissioners to engage the nation "again in blood; and therefore he would not be an- "swerable if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to "expectation;" and that was the reason, besides the old animosity, that had drawn on the affront, which the commissioners had complained of. What that treaty was, and what it produced, will be mentioned in a more proper place.

The Level-
lers grew up
in the army.

There was at this time a new faction grown up in the army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own consent, called *Levellers*; who spoke insolently and confidently against the King and Parliament, and the great officers of the army; and professed

as great malice against all the lords, as against the King; and declared, "that all degrees of men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in titles and estates, throughout the kingdoms." Whether the raising this spirit was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst those tares which had been sowed in that confusion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at last, (which must be set down hereafter); but the present use he made of it was, that, upon the licentious discourse of that kind, which some soldiers upon the guard usually made, the guard upon the King's person was doubled; a restraint put upon the great resort of people who came to see the King; and all pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any violence that might be attempted upon his life; which they seemed to apprehend, and detest. In the mean time, they neither hindered his Majesty from riding abroad to take the air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor restrained those who waited upon him in his bedchamber, nor his Chaplains from performing their functions; though towards all these there was less civility exercised than had been; and the guards which waited nearest were more rude, and made more noise at unreasonable hours than they had been accustomed to do; the captain who commanded them, Colonel Whaley, being a man of a rough and brutal temper, who had offered great violence to his nature, when he appeared to exercise any civility and good manners. The King, every day, received a few billets or letters, secretly conveyed to him under any name, which advertised him of wicked designs upon his life, and some of them advised him to take his escape, and repair secretly into the city, where he should be safe; some letters directing him to such a house; all which his Majesty looked upon as a

lead him into some straits, from whence he should not easily explicate himself; and yet many who repaired to him brought the same advice from men of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever they were swayed.

The King found himself in great perplexity, from what he discerned, and observed himself, as well as what he heard from others; but what use to make of the one or the other, was very hard to resolve: he did really believe that their malice was at the height, and that they did design his murder, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated, by pretended ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their guards, and get beyond them undiscovered, whither should he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the city seemed not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover courage for such an adventure; and the army now was much more master of it than when they desponded. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass; but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discovered; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the resolution, or counsel. But, one morning, being the eleventh of November, the King having, the night before, pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his bed that night. There were two or three letters found upon his table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another to the General; in which he declared "the reason of his remove to be, an apprehension that some desperate persons had a design to assassinate him; and therefore

The King
escapes
from
Hampton
Court, Nov.
11.

“ therefore he had withdrawn himself with a purpose of
 “ remaining concealed, until the Parliament had agreed
 “ upon such propositions as should be fit for him to
 “ consent to ; and he would then appear, and willingly
 “ consent to any thing that should be for the peace and
 “ happiness of the kingdom.” There were discovered
 the treading of horses at a back door of the garden into
 which his Majesty had a passage out of his chamber ;
 and it is true that way he went, having appointed his
 horse to be there ready at an hour, and Sir John Berk-
 ley, Ashburnham, and Legg, to wait upon him, the
 two last being of his bedchamber. Ashburnham alone
 seemed to know what they were to do, the other two
 having received only orders to attend. When they were
 free from the apprehension of the guards, and the horse
 quarters, they rode towards the south-west, and towards
 that part of Hampshire which led to the New Forest.
 The King asked Ashburnham, where the ship lay ?
 which made the other two conclude that the King re-
 solved to transport himself. After they had made some
 stay in that part next the sea, and Ashburnham had
 been some time absent, he returned without any news of
 the ship ; with which the King seemed troubled. Upon
 this disappointment, the King thought it best, for avoid-
 ing all highways, to go to Titchfield, a noble seat of He comes
to Titchfield
in Hamp-
shire.
 the Earl of Southampton’s, (who was not there), but in-
 habited by the old lady his mother with a small family,
 which made the retreat the more convenient : there his
 Majesty alighted, and would speak with the lady ; to
 whom he made no scruple of communicating himself,
 well knowing her to be a lady of that honour and spirit,
 that she was superior to all kind of temptation. There
 he refreshed himself, and consulted with his three ser-
 vants, what he should next do, since there was neither

ship ready, nor could they presume that they could remain long there undiscovered.

In this debate, the Isle of Wight came to be mentioned (as they say) by Ashburnham, as a place where his Majesty might securely repose himself, until he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel Hammond was Governor there, an officer of the army, and of nearest trust with Cromwell, having by his advice been married to a daughter of John Hambden, whose memory he always adored; yet, by some fatal mistake, this man was thought a person of honour and generosity enough to trust the King's person to, and Ashburnham and Berkley were sent to him with orders, "first to be sure that the man would faithfully promise not to deliver his Majesty up, though the Parliament or army should require him; but to give him his liberty to shift for himself, if he were not able to defend him: and except he would make that promise, they should not let him know where his Majesty was, but should return presently to him." With this commission they two crossed the water to the Isle of Wight, the King in the mean time reposing himself at Titchfield. The next day they found Colonel Hammond, who was known to them both, who had conversation with him in the army, when the King was well treated there, (and their persons had been very civilly treated by most of the officers, who thought themselves qualified sufficiently for court preferments.) They told him, "that the King was withdrawn from the army;" of which he seemed to have had no notice, and to be very much surprised with it. They then said, "that the King had so good an opinion of him, knowing him to be a gentleman, and for his relation to Dr. Hammond, (whose nephew he was), that he would trust his person with him, and
"would

The King sends Ashburnham and Berkley to Col. Hammond in the Isle of Wight.

“ would from thence write to the Parliament, if he would
 “ promise that if his message had not that effect which
 “ he hoped it would have, he would leave him to him-
 “ self to go whither he thought fit, and would not de-
 “ liver him to the Parliament, or army, if they should
 “ require it.” His answer was, “ that he would pay all
 “ the duty and service to his Majesty that was in his
 “ power; and, if he pleased to come thither, he would
 “ receive and entertain him as well as he could; but
 “ that he was an inferior officer, and must obey his su-
 “ periors in whatsoever they thought fit to command
 “ him:” with which when he saw they were not satis-
 fied, he asked, “ where the King was?” to which they
 made no other answer, “ but that they would acquaint
 “ his Majesty with his answer, and, if he were satisfied
 “ with it, they would return to him again.” He de-
 manded “ that Mr. Ashburnham would stay with him,
 “ and that the other might go to the King;” which
 Mr. Ashburnham refused to do.

After some time spent in debate, in which he made
 many expressions of his desire to do any service to his
 Majesty, they were contented that he should go with
 them; and Ashburnham said, “ he would conduct him
 “ to the place where the King was;” and so, he com-
 manding three or four servants or soldiers to wait on They bring
 Hammond
 to the King.
 him, they went together to Titchfield; and, the other
 staying below, Ashburnham went up to the King’s
 chamber. When he had acquainted him with all that
 had passed, and that Hammond was in the house, his
 Majesty broke out in a passionate exclamation, and
 said, “ O Jack, thou hast undone me!” with which the
 other falling into a great passion of weeping, offered to
 go down, and to kill Hammond: to which his Majesty
 would not consent; and, after some pausing and de-
 liberation,

liberation, sent for him up, and endeavoured to persuade him to make the same promise, which had before been proposed: to which he made the same answer he had done, but with many professions of doing all the offices he could for his Majesty; and seemed to believe that the army would do well for him. The King believed that there was now no possible way to get from him, he having the command of the country, and could call in what help he would; and so went with him into the Isle of Wight, and was lodged at Carisbrook-castle, at first with all demonstration of respect and duty.

Hammond removes the King to Carisbrook-castle.

The Author's opinion of this whole business.

It never appeared afterwards that the King was maliciously betrayed to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of those he trusted; and his Majesty himself never entertained the least jealousy, or suspicion of it: yet the whole design appeared to be so weakly contrived, the not being sure of a ship, if the resolution were fixed for embarking, which was never manifest, the making choice of the Isle of Wight, and of Hammond to be trusted, since nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected, and the bringing him to Titchfield, without the permission of the King, if not directly contrary to it, seemed to be all so far from a rational design and conduct, that most men did believe there was treason in the contrivance, or that his Majesty entrusted those who were grossly imposed upon and deceived by his greatest enemies. Legg had had so general a reputation of integrity, and fidelity to his master, that he never fell under the least imputation or reproach with any man: he was a very punctual and steady observer of the orders he received, but no contriver of them; and though he had in truth a better judgment and understanding than either of the other two, his modesty and diffidence of himself never suffered him

to

to contrive bold counsels. Berkley was less known among those persons of honour and quality who had followed the King, being in a very private station before the war, and his post in it being in the farthest corner of the kingdom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; ambition and vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those who had not; but he never fell under any blemish of disloyalty, and he took care to publish that this enterprize of the King's was so totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on horseback at such an hour, and had not the least intimation of his Majesty's purpose what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by Hammond, did him much credit, that when Hammond demanded that Ashburnham should remain with him whilst the other went to the King, which Ashburnham refused to do, Berkley did offer himself to remain with him whilst Ashburnham should attend his Majesty; so that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was cast upon Ashburnham; who was known to have so great an interest in the affections of his Majesty, and so great an influence upon his counsels and resolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

The not having a ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcusable; and the putting the King into Hammond's hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were some who said, that Ashburnham resolved that the King should go to the Isle of Wight, before he left Hampton Court; and the Lord Langdale often said, "that being in Mr. Ashburnham's chamber
" at that time, he had the curiosity, whilst the other
" went

“went out of the room, to look upon a paper that lay upon the table; in which was writ, that it would be best for the King to withdraw from the army, where he was in such danger; and that the Isle of Wight would be a good retreat, where Colonel Hammond commanded; who was a very honest man.” And this was some days before his Majesty removed. And then it was observed, that Hammond himself left the army but two or three days before the King’s remove, and went to the Isle of Wight at a season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the Agitators in the army were at highest; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, because Ashburnham was not afterwards called in question for being instrumental in the King’s going away, but lived unquestioned long after in the sight of the Parliament, and in conversation with some of the officers of the army who had most deceived him; and, which was more censured than all the rest, that after the murder of the King he compounded, as was reported, at an easy rate, and lived at ease, and grew rich, for many years together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preserved his reputation and credit with the most eminent of the King’s party; and his remaining in England was upon the marriage of a lady by whom he had a great fortune, and many conveniences; which would have been seized by his leaving the kingdom; and he did send over to the King, and had leave to stay there; and sometimes supplied the King with considerable sums of money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by Cromwell, where he remained till his death; and the King was known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his affection and integrity; and when King Charles the Second returned,

turned, most of those of greatest reputation, as the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earl of Southampton, gave him a good testimony; yet then, the old discourses were revived, and Major Huntington did affirm, "that Mr. Ashburnham did intend the King should go to the Isle of Wight, before he left Hampton Court." Many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did still think that Cromwell and Ireton had overwitted him, and persuaded him, upon great promises, that it should prove for his Majesty's benefit, and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the army, and put himself into Hammond's hands; for if in truth transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a ship would not have been provided.

Sir John Berkley, who, shortly after the King's being in the Isle of Wight, had transported himself into France, and remained still with the Duke of York to the time of King Charles the Second's return, and Mr. Ashburnham, who continued in England, and so the more liable to reproach, had been so solicitous to wipe off the aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, that they had it in care to preserve the reputation of a joint innocence; but whilst each endeavoured to clear himself, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other, that made him liable to just censure; and, in this contention, their friends mentioned their several discourses so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they loved best, that they contracted a very avowed animosity against each other; inasmuch as it was generally believed upon the King's return, that they would, with some fierceness, have expostulated with each other in that way which angry men choose to determine the right, or that both of them
would

would have desired the King to have caused the whole to be so strictly examined, that the world might have discerned, where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could have been charged upon them : but they applied themselves to neither of those expedients, and lived only as men who took no delight in each other's conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the King, who was satisfied that there had been no treasonable contrivance, (from which his father had absolved them), did not think it fit, upon such a subject, to make strict inquisition into inadvertencies, indiscretions, and presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionally.

It is true that they both writ apologies, or narrations of all that had passed in that affair, which they made not public, but gave in writing to such of their friends in whose opinions they most desired to be absolved, without any inclination that one should see what the other had writ ; in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seemed to doubt of the integrity of the other ; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the King to undertake that journey. I have read both their relations, and conferred with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end ; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their loyalty or affection to the King, or suborned to gratify any persons with a disservice to their master. They were both of them great opiniators, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before ; and exceedingly undervalued each other's understanding ; but, as it usually

usually falls out in men of that kind of composition and talent, they were both disposed to communicate more freely with, and, consequently, to be advised by new acquaintance, and men they had lately begun to know, than old friends, and such whose judgments they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go sharers with them in the merit of any notable service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole managery of the King's business, from the time that they came into the army, they never conversed with the same persons; but governed themselves by what they received from those whose correspondence they had chosen. Ashburnham seemed wholly to rely upon Cromwell and Ireton; and rather upon what they said to others than to himself. For besides outward civilities, which they both exercised towards him more than to other men, they seldom held private discourse with him, persuading him "that it was better for both their ends, in respect of the jealousy the Parliament had of them, that they should understand each other's mind, as to the transaction of any particulars, from third persons mutually entrusted between them, than from frequent consultations together;" and Sir Edward Ford, who had married Ireton's sister, but had been himself an officer in the King's army from the beginning of the war, and a gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reserved and dark designs of his brother in law, was trusted to pass between them, with some other officers of the army, who had given Ashburnham reason to believe that they had honest purposes.

Berkley had not found that respect, from Cromwell and Ireton, that he expected; at least discerned it to be greater towards Ashburnham, than it was to him; which

he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgment in them ; and therefore had applied himself to others, who had not so great names, but greater interest, as he thought, in the soldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr. Staines, who, though a Doctor in Physic, was Quarter Master General of the army ; and one Watson, who was Scout Master General of the army ; both of the Council of War, both in good credit with Cromwell, and both notable fanatics, and professed enemies to the Scots and the Presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both permitted and instructed to caress Sir John Berkley, and, by admiring his wisdom and conduct, to oblige him to depend on theirs ; and dissimulation had so great and supreme an influence on the hearts and spirits of all those who were trusted and employed by Cromwell, that no man was safe in their company, but he who resolved before, not to believe one word they said. These two persons knew well how to humour Sir John Berkley, who believed them the more, because they seemed very much to blame Ireton's stubbornness towards the King, and to fear that he often prevailed upon Cromwell against his own inclinations : they informed him of many particulars which passed in the Council of Officers, and sometimes of advice from Cromwell, that was clean contrary to what the King received by Ashburnham as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true, (as it may be the other was too), which exceedingly confirmed Sir John in the good opinion he had of his two friends. They were the first who positively advertised the King by him, that Cromwell would never do him service ; and the first who seemed to apprehend that the King's person was in danger, and that there was some secret design upon his life.

I do not believe that Sir John Berkley knew any thing

thing of the King's purpose in his intended escape, or whither he resolved to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he resolved at such an hour, and in such a place, to take horse, and was himself required to attend him; nor do I, in truth, think that the King himself, when he took horse, resolved whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the city; others, that he intended for Jersey; and that was the ground of the question to Mr. Ashburnham, "where is the ship?" Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Isle of Wight. I am not sure that Mr. Ashburnham, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief officers of the army, and believed the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators, and the levelling party, had not the Isle of Wight in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his Majesty thought it necessary to make an escape from the army. It had been a difficult task to go about to dissuade the King from an apprehension of his own safety, when it was much more natural to fear an assassination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr. Ashburnham had so great a detestation of the Scots, that he expected no good from their fraternity, the Presbyterians of the city; and did really believe that if his Majesty should put himself into their hands, as was advised by many, with a purpose that he should be there concealed, till some favourable conjuncture should offer itself, (for nobody imagined that, upon his arrival there, the city would have declared for him, and have entered into a contest with that army which had so lately subdued them), the security of such an escape was not to be relied on, and very earnestly dissuaded his master from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of

lii.

his was universally known, and, as hath been said before, was an ingredient into the composition of that civility and kindness the officers of the army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the levelling spirit that was gotten into the soldiers, which they foresaw would in the future be as inconvenient and mischievous to themselves, as it was, for the present, dangerous to the person of the King; which they seemed wonderfully to apprehend, and protested "that they knew not how to apply any remedy to it, whilst his Majesty was in the army; but that they would quickly correct or subdue it, if the King were at any distance from them;" and it is not impossible, that, in such discourses, somebody who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of Wight as a good place to retire to, and Colonel Hammond as a man of good intentions; the minutes of which discourse Mr. Ashburnham might keep by him: for the Lord Langdale's relation of such a paper, which he himself saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a mere fiction; to which, besides that he was a person of unblemished honour and veracity, he had not any temptation: yet Mr. Ashburnham did constantly deny that he ever saw any such paper, or had any thought of the Isle of Wight when the King left Hampton Court, and he never gave cause, in the subsequent actions of his life, to have his fidelity suspected. And it is probable, that Cromwell, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his life, would have been glad to have blasted his reputation, by declaring that he had carried his master to the Isle of Wight, without his privity, upon his own presumption; which, how well soever intended, must have

have been looked upon by all men as such a transcendent crime, as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him.

The sudden unexpected withdrawing of the King made a great impression upon the minds of all men, every man fancying that his Majesty would do that which he wished he would do. The Presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the city, (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do), and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament and the army, and the many factions in the army, which every day appeared, to discover himself. The Cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home, which might probably in a short time invite his return. The army was not without this apprehension, as imagining it the worst that could fall out to their purposes.

The Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the army, was most frightened with the imagination that the King was in the city, and would ~~not~~ ^{be} until some conspiracy should be ripe, and all in ~~the~~ ^{the} should be present in London to second it; and ~~they~~ ^{they} no sooner heard that he was gone from ~~the~~ ^{the} Court, than they passed an ordinance of ~~the~~ ^{the} by which they declared, "that it should be ~~of~~ ^{of} of estate, and loss of life, to any ~~man~~ ^{man} "harbour and conceal the King's ~~person~~ ^{person} "without revealing, and making ~~it~~ ^{it} ment:" which, no doubt, ~~was~~ ^{was} all in such a manner, ~~for~~ ^{for} amongst them, he would ~~not~~ ^{not} and given up. They ~~and~~ ^{and} ous Presbyterians' ~~house~~ ^{house}

been sure he had been there ; and sent posts to all parts of the kingdom, “ that they might be shut, and no person be suffered to embark, lest the King, in disguise, transport himself ;” and a proclamation was issued out, “ for the banishing all persons who had ever borne arms for the King, out of London, or any place within twenty miles of it ;” and all persons of that kind, who, upon strict search, were found, were apprehended, and put into several prisons with all the circumstances of severity and rigour. But all these doubts were quickly cleared, and within two days Cromwell informed the House of Commons, “ that he had received letters from Colonel Hammond, of all the manner of the King’s coming to the Isle of Wight, and the company that came with him ; that he remained there in the castle of Carisbrook, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be known.” He assured them, “ that Colonel Hammond was so honest a man, and so much devoted to their service, that they need have no jealousy that he might be corrupted by any body ;” and all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded that the King was where he wished he should be.

And now the Parliament maintained no farther contests with the army, but tamely submitted to whatever they proposed ; the Presbyterians in both Houses, and in the city, being in a terrible agony, that some close correspondences they had held with the King during his abode at Hampton Court, would be discovered ; and therefore would give no farther occasion of jealousy by any contradictions, leaving it to their Clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the people by their pulpit-inflammations ; and they stoutly discharged their trust.

But

But Cromwell had more cause to fear a fire in his own quarters, and that he had raised a spirit in the army which would not easily be quieted again. The Agitators, who were first formed by him to oppose the Parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull Presbyterian humour of Fairfax; who wished nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass: these Agitators had hitherto transcribed faithfully all the copies he had given them, and offered such advices to the Parliament, and insisted upon such exhortations and demands, as were necessary, whilst there was either any purpose to treat with the King, or any reason to flatter his party. But now the King was gone from the army, and in such a place as the army could have no recourse to him, and that the Parliament was become of so soft a temper, that the party of the army that was in it could make all necessary impression upon them, he desired to restrain the Agitators from that liberty which they had so long enjoyed, and to keep them within stricter rules of obedience to their superiors, and to hinder their future meetings, and consultations concerning the settling the government of the kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be solely left to the Parliament; whose authority, for the present, he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be so dismissed from State affairs, of which they had so pleasant a relish; nor be at the mercy of the Parliament, which they had so much provoked; and therefore, when they were admitted no more to consultations with their officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their officers,

as any part of the Church or State. They entered into new associations, and made many propositions to the officers, and to the Parliament, to introduce an equality into all conditions, and a parity among all men; from whence they had the appellation of *Levellers*; whence appeared a great party. They did not only meet against the express command of their officers, but drew considerable parties of the army to rendezvous, without the order or privity of their superiors; and there persuaded them to enter into such engagements, as would in a short time have dissolved the government of the army, and absolved them from a dependence upon the general officers. The suppression of this licence cost Cromwell to the expence of all his cunning, dexterity and courage; so that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preservation of their authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some of his brothers to comply in the counsels of the conspirators, by that means having notice of their rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary guard at those meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked some questions of those whom he observed most active and receiving insolent answers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his troop; and took such a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he presently caused some to be hanged, and sent others to London to a more formal trial. By two or three such encounters, for the obstinacy continued long, he totally subdued the spirit in the army, though it continued and increased very much in the kingdom; and if it had not been encountered at that time with that rough and brisk temper of Cromwell, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the Parliament, army, and kingdom.

Cromwell suppresses a tumult of the Levellers.

All opposition being thus suppressed, and quieted, and Cromwell needing no other assistance to the carrying on his designs, than the present temper and inclination of the Parliament, they sent a message to the King, briefly proposing to him, "that he would forthwith grant his royal assent to four Acts of Parliament; which they then sent to him." By one of them, he was to confess the war to have been raised by him against the Parliament; and so that he was guilty of all the blood that had been spilt. By another, he was totally to dissolve the government of the Church by Bishops, and to grant all the lands belonging to the Church to such uses as they proposed; leaving the settling a future government in the place thereof to farther time and counsels. By a third, he was to grant, and settle the militia in the manner and in the persons proposed, reserving not so much power in himself as any subject was capable of. In the last place, he was in effect to sacrifice all those, who had served or adhered to him, to the mercy of the Parliament.

The persons, who were sent with these four bills, had liberty given to expect the King's answer only four days; and were then required to return to the Parliament. With the commissioners of Parliament there came likewise the commissioners of Scotland, who, after the four bills were delivered, and read to the King, the very next day, desired an audience; and, with much formality and confidence, delivered a declaration, and protestation on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland against those bills and propositions. They said, "they were so prejudicial to religion, the crown, and the union and interest of the kingdoms, and so far different from the former proceedings and engagements between the two kingdoms, that they could not concur therein; and there-fore,"

The Parliament sends a message to the King to pass four Acts,

The commissioners of Scotland enter a protestation against them.

The King gives his answer to the Parliament commissioners.

“fore, in the name of the whole kingdom of Scotland did declare their dissent.” The King had received advertisement, that as soon as he should refuse to consent to the bills, he should presently be made a close prisoner, and all his servants should be removed from him; upon which, and because the commissioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his positive answer, he resolved that his answer should not be known till it was delivered to the Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his escape, before new orders could be sent from Westminster: so when the commissioners came to receive his answer, he gave it to them sealed. The Earl of Denbigh, who was the chief of the commissioners, and a person very ungracious to the King, told him, “that though they had no authority to treat with him, or to do any thing but to receive his answer, yet they were not to be looked upon as common messengers, and to carry back an answer that they had not seen:” and, upon the matter, refused to receive it; and said, “they would return without any, except they might see what they carried.”

His Majesty conceived that their return without his answer would be attended with the worst consequences; and therefore he told them, “that he had some reason for having offered to deliver it to them in that manner; but if they would give him their words, that the communicating it to them should be attended with no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cause it to be read;” which they readily undertook, (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it), and thereupon he opened it, and gave it one to read. The answer was, “that his Majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty to comply in such a manner with all
“engaged

“ engaged interests, that a firm and lasting peace might
 “ ensue ; in which opinion he was now confirmed, since
 “ the commissioners for Scotland do solemnly protest
 “ against the several bills and propositions, which the
 “ two Houses of Parliament had presented to him for
 “ his assent ; so that it was not possible for him to
 “ give such an answer as might be the foundation of a
 “ hopeful peace.” He gave them many unanswerable
 reasons, “ why he could not pass the four bills as they
 “ were offered to him ; which did not only divest him
 “ of all sovereignty, and leave him without any possibi-
 “ lity of recovering it to him or his successors, but
 “ opened a door for all intolerable oppressions upon his
 “ subjects, he granting such an arbitrary and illimited
 “ power to the two Houses.” He told them, “ that nei-
 “ ther the desire of being freed from that tedious and irk-
 “ some condition of life, which he had so long suffered,
 “ nor the apprehension of any thing that might befall
 “ him, should ever prevail with him to consent to any
 “ one act, till the conditions of the whole peace should
 “ be concluded ; and then that he would be ready to give
 “ all just and reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars ;
 “ and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way
 “ but a personal treaty, (and therefore very earnestly
 “ desired the two Houses to consent to it), to be either
 “ at London, or any other place they would rather
 “ choose.” As soon as this answer, or to the same ef-
 “ fect, was read, he delivered it to the commissioners ;
 who no sooner received it than they kissed his hand, and
 departed for Westminster.

The commissioners were no sooner gone than Ham-
 mond caused all the King's servants, who till then had
 all liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of
 the castle ; and forbid any of them to repair thither any

more; and appointed a strong guard to restrain any body from going to the King, if they should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled and surpris'd him, being an absolute disappointment of all the hope he had left. He told Hammond, "that it was not suitable to his engagement, and that it did not become a man of honour or honesty to treat him so, who had so freely put himself into his hands. He asked him, whether the commissioners were acquainted with his purpose to proceed in this manner?" To which he answered, "that they were not; but that he had an order from the Parliament to do as he had done; and that he saw plainly by his answer to the propositions, that he acted by other counsels than stood with the good of the kingdom."

This insolent and imperious proceeding put the island (which was generally inhabited by a people always well affected to the Crown) into a high mutiny. They said, "they would not endure to see their King so used, and made a prisoner." There was at that time there one Captain Burly, who was of a good family in the island. He had been a captain of one of the King's ships, and was put out of his command when the fleet rebelled against the King; and then he put himself into the King's army, where he continued an officer of good account to the end of the war, and was in one of the King's armies General of the ordnance. When the war was at an end, he repaired into his own country, the Isle of Wight; where many of his family still lived in good reputation. This gentleman chanced to be at Newport, the chief town in the island, when the King was thus treated, and when the people seemed generally to resort to it with so much indignation; and was so much transported with the same fury, being a man of more courage than

ham of prudence and circumspection, that he could not
 turn to be presently beaten, and put himself at the
 head of the people who then had expelled, and sent
 "for God, the King, and the people," and that, "if
 "would lead them to the castle, and deliver the king
 "from his captivity." The manner was probably
 discerned to be irrational and impossible, and by
 the great diligence and activity of the king's forces,
 who had been put out of the castle, the people were
 quieted, and all men returned to their own homes, and
 the poor gentleman had time to do as he pleased and
 precipitate escape. The king's forces were pre-
 sently in the castle, and the king's forces out-
 out delay. The king's forces were in the castle, and
 ner; in which a number of the king's forces
 had more than 1000 men, and the king's forces
 vices, and the king's forces were in the castle,
 formation, and the king's forces were in the castle,
 against the king's forces, and the king's forces
 war; of which the king's forces were in the castle,
 found the king's forces were in the castle,
 him, and the king's forces were in the castle,
 and the king's forces were in the castle,
 and the king's forces were in the castle,
 and the king's forces were in the castle,
 men, the king's forces were in the castle,
 brought the king's forces were in the castle,
 deposed the king's forces were in the castle,
 treasure the king's forces were in the castle,
 impudently the king's forces were in the castle,
 choice the king's forces were in the castle,
 which, the king's forces were in the castle,
 cost the king's forces were in the castle,
 but the king's forces were in the castle,
 large number the king's forces were in the castle.

the King, by which their estates would be likewise confiscated, they thought they should be justified if they kept their hearts entire, without being involved by their actions in a capital transgression.

How the King's answer is received by the Parliament; and Cromwell's speech of the King thereupon.

Upon the receipt of the King's answer, there appeared a new spirit and temper in the House of Commons: hitherto, no man had mentioned the King's person without duty and respect, and only lamented "that he was misled by evil and wicked counsellors; who being removed from him, he might by the advice of his Parliament govern well enough." But now, upon the refusal to pass these bills, every man's mouth was opened against him with the utmost sauciness and licence; each man striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his invective. Cromwell declared, "that the King was a man of great parts, and great understanding," (faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without), "but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted." And thereupon repeated many particulars, whilst he was in the army, that his Majesty wished that such and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: "That whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had, at the same time, secret treaties with the Scottish commissioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the Parliament." He concluded, "that they might no farther trouble themselves with sending messages to him, or farther propositions, but that they might enter upon those counsels which were necessary towards

“wards the settlement of the kingdom, without having
 “farther recourse to the King.” Those of his party se-
 conded this advice with new reproaches upon the person
 of the King, charging him with such abominable ac-
 tions, as had been never heard of, and could be only
 suggested from the malice of their own hearts; whilst
 men who had any modesty, and abhorred that way of
 proceeding, stood amazed and confounded at the man-
 ner and presumption of it, and without courage to give
 any notable opposition to their rage. So that, after se-
 veral days spent in passionate debates to this purpose,
 they voted, “that they would make no more addresses
 “to the King, but proceed towards settling the govern-
 “ment, and providing for the peace of the kingdom,
 “in such manner as they should judge best for the be-
 “nefit and liberty of the subject:” and a committee was
 appointed to prepare a declaration to inform and satisfy
 the people of this their resolution, and the grounds there-
 of, and to assure them, “that they had lawful authority
 “to proceed in this manner.” In the mean time, the
 King, who had, from the time of his coming to the Isle
 of Wight, enjoyed the liberty of taking the air, and re-
 freshing himself throughout the island, and was attended
 by such servants as he had appointed, or sent for, to come
 thither to him, to the time that he had refused to pass
 those bills, from thenceforth was no more suffered to go
 out of the castle beyond a little ill garden that belonged
 to it. And now, after this vote of the House of Com-
 mons, that there should be no more addresses made to
 him, all his servants being removed, a few new men, for
 the most part, unknown to his Majesty, were deputed
 to be about his person to perform all those offices
 which they believed might be requisite, and of whose
 fidelity to themselves they were as well assured, as that
 they

Vote of no
 more ad-
 dresses to
 the King,
 &c.

they were without any reverence or affection for the King.

A meeting of Cromwell and the officers at Windsor, wherein they design the King's destruction.

It is very true, that within few days after the King's withdrawing from Hampton Court, and after it was known that he was in the Isle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windsor, where Cromwell and Ireton were present, to consult what should be now done with the King. For, though Cromwell was weary of the Agitators, and resolved to break their meetings, and though the Parliament concurred in all he desired, yet his entire confidence was in the officers of the army; who were they who swayed the Parliament, and the army itself, to bring what he intended to pass. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always fastings and prayers, made at the very council by Cromwell or Ireton, or some other *inspired* person, as most of the officers were, it was resolved, "that the King should be prosecuted for his life " as a criminal person:" of which his Majesty was advertised speedily by Watson, Quarter Master General of the army; who was present; and had pretended, from the first coming of the King to the army, to have a desire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain it; but the resolution was a great secret, of which the Parliament had not the least intimation or jealousy; but was, as it had been, to be cozened by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his Majesty easily persuaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the people know their intentions. The great approach they made towards it, was, their declaration, "that they would make " no more addresses to the King," that by an inter-regnum

regnum they might feel the pulse of the people, and discover how they would submit to another form of government; and yet all writs, and process of justice, and all commissions, still issued in the King's name without his consent or privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the King himself, and by his immediate order, was now performed by the Parliament; and, instead of Acts of Parliament, they made Ordinances of the two Houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same obedience from the people.

This declaration of no more addresses contained charge against the King of whatsoever had been done & The vote of no more addresses seconded by a declaration. amiss from the beginning of his government, or before, not without a direct insinuation, as if "he had conspired with the Duke of Buckingham against the life of his father; the prejudice he had brought upon the Protestant religion in foreign parts, by lending his ships to the King of France, who employed them against Rochelle:" they renewed the remembrance and reproach of all those grievances which had been mentioned in their first remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contained in all their declarations before and after the war; which had been all so fully answered by his Majesty, that the world was convinced of their rebellion and treason: they charged him with being "the cause of all the blood that had been spilt, by his having made a war upon his Parliament, and rejecting all overtures of peace which had been made to him; and in regard of all these things, they resolved to make no more address to him, but, by their own authority, to provide for the peace and welfare of the kingdom."

This declaration found much opposition in the House
of

Mr. May-
nard's ar-
gument
against it.

of Commons, in respect of the particular reproaches they had now cast upon the person of the King, which they had heretofore, in their own published declarations to the people, charged upon the evil counsellors, and persons about him; and some persons had been sentenced, and condemned, for those very crimes which they now accused his Majesty of. But there was much more exception to their conclusion from those premises, that therefore they would address themselves no more to him; and John Maynard, a member of the House, and a lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular and unjust proceedings, after he had with great vehemence opposed and contradicted the most odious parts of their declaration, told them plainly, "that by this resolution
"of making no more addresses to the King, they did,
"as far as in them lay, dissolve the Parliament; and
"that, from the time of that determination, he knew
"not with what security, in point of law, they could
"meet together, or any man join with them in their
"counsels: that it was of the essence of Parliament,
"that they should upon all occasions repair to the
"King; and that his Majesty's refusal at any time to
"receive their petitions, or to admit their addresses, had
"been always held the highest breach of their privilege,
"because it tended to their dissolution without dissolv-
"ing them; and therefore if they should now, on their
"parts, determine that they would receive no more
"messages from him, (which was likewise a part of
"their declaration), nor make any more address to him,
"they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no
"longer a Parliament: and then, how could the people
"look upon them as such?" This argumentation being
boldly pressed by a man of that learning and authority,
who

who had very seldom not been believed, made a great impresson upon all men who had not prostituted themselves to Cromwell and his party. But the other side meant not to maintain their resolution by discourses, well knowing where their strength lay; and so still called for the question; which was carried by a plurality of voices, as they foresaw it would; very many persons who abhorred the determination, not having courage to provoke the powerful men by owning their dissent; others satisfying themselves with the resolution to withdraw themselves, and to bear no farther part in the counsels; which Maynard himself did, and came no more to the House in very many months, nor till there seemed to be such an alteration in the minds of men, that there would be a reversal of that monstrous determination; and many others did the same.

When this declaration was thus passed the Commons, and by them sent to the House of Peers for their concurrence, the manner or the matter was of that importance as to need much debate; but, with as little formality as was possible, it had the concurrence of that House, and was immediately printed and published, and new orders sent to the Isle of Wight, for the more strict looking to and guarding the King, that he might not escape.

The publishing this declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the people, from what they expected it would produce; and it appeared to be so publicly detested, that many who had served the Parliament in several unwarrantable employments and commissions, from the beginning of the war, in the city and in the country, withdrew themselves from the service of the Parliament; and much inveighed against it, for declining all the principles upon which they had engaged
them.

them. Many private persons took upon them to publish answers to that declaration, that, the King himself being under so strict a restraint that he could make no answer, the people might not be poisoned with the belief of it. And the several answers of this kind wrought very much upon the people, who opened their mouths very loud against the Parliament and the army; and the clamour was increased by the increase of taxes and impositions, which were raised by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the kingdom; and though they were so entirely possessed of the whole kingdom, and the forces and garrisons thereof, that they had no enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their army; and notwithstanding they raised incredible sums of money, upon the sale of the Church and the Crown lands; for which they found purchasers enough amongst their own party in the city, army, and country, and upon composition with Delinquents, and the sale of their lands who refused, or could not be admitted, to compound, (which few refused to do who could be admitted, in regard that their estates were all under sequestration, and the rents thereof paid to the Parliament, so that till they compounded they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and necessities, and were compelled to make their compositions, at how unreasonable rates soever, that they might thereby be enabled to sell some part, to preserve the rest, and their houses from being pulled down, and their woods from being wasted or spoiled); notwithstanding all these vast receipts, which they ever pretended should ease the people of their burden, and should suffice to pay the army their expences at sea and land, their debts were so great, that they raised the public taxes; and, besides all customs and excise, they levied

levied a monthly contribution of above a hundred thousand pounds by a land tax throughout the kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no enemy who contended with them, was an evidence that it would have no end, and that the army was still to be kept up, to make good the resolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the King; and that made the resolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more insupportable, by reason that, upon the publishing this last monstrous declaration, most of those persons of condition, who, as hath been said before, had been seduced to do them service throughout the kingdom, declined to appear longer in so detestable an employment; and now a more inferior sort of the common people succeeded in those employments, who thereby exercised so great insolence over those who were in quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumstances be what they would, no redress could be ever obtained, all distinction of quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior constables, six or seven years before, were now the justices of peace, and sequestrators, and commissioners; who executed the commands of the Parliament, in all the counties of the kingdom, with such rigour and tyranny, as was natural for such persons to use over and towards those upon whom they had formerly looked at such a distance. But let their sufferings be never so great, the murmur and discontent never so general, and no shadow of hope by which they might struggle, there was possible relief: so that they who had struggled as long as they were able, submitted patiently to the yoke, with the more satisfaction, in that they saw many of those who

who had been the principal contrivers of all the mischiefs to satisfy their own ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almost as ill a condition as themselves, at least to as little power, and authority, and security; whilst the whole government of the nation remained, upon the matter, wholly in their hands who in the beginning of the Parliament were scarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

The King being in this melancholic neglected condition, and the kingdom possessed by the new rulers, without control, in the new method of government, where every thing was done, and submitted to, which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their peace, and future security; that besides the general discontent of the nation, which for the present they did not fear, they were to expect new troubles from Ireland, and from Scotland; which would, in the progress, have an influence upon England.

The affairs
of Ireland.

In Ireland, (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and contests between the Parliament and the army, and from the King's being in the army), though they were possessed of Dublin, and, upon the matter, of the whole province of Munster, by the activity of the Lord Inchiquin, and the Lord Broghill; yet the Irish rebels had very great forces, which covered all the other parts of the kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the Irish, whom they vanquished as often as they saw, and never declined fighting upon any inequality of numbers: they had an apprehension of another enemy. The Marquis of Ormond had often attended the King at Hampton Court, and had great resort to him, whilst he stayed in London, by
all

all those who had served the King, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfied with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the army; and by the Scottish commissioners, who had frequently private meetings with him; insomuch as the officers of the army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant acts of power, had resolved to have apprehended and imprisoned him, as a man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his articles, he had liberty to stay six months where he would in England, (which time was little more than half expired), and then he might transport himself into what part he desired beyond the seas. The Marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having conferred with his Majesty as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that the King left Hampton Court, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one servant, rid into Suffex; and, in an obscure and unguarded port or harbour, put himself on board a shallop, which safely transported him into Normandy; from whence he waited upon the Queen, and the Prince of Wales, at Paris; to whom he could not but be very welcome.

The Marquis of Ormond transports himself out of England into France.

At the same time, there were commissioners arrived from Ireland from the confederate Roman Catholics: who, after they had driven the King's authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The factions grew so great amongst themselves, and the Pope's Nuncio exercised his authority with so great tyranny and insolence, that they were weary of him; and found that the Parliament as soon as they should send more forces over, would be a reason of their divisions, reduce them to their former

and necessities. They therefore sent commissioners to the Queen and Prince to desire, "that, by their favour, "they might have the King's authority again among "them;" to which they promised, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgments of their former miscarriage and ill behaviour. It is very true that the Marquis of Antrim, who was one of the commissioners, and was always inseparable from the highest ambition, (though without any qualifications for any great trust), had entertained the hope, that by the Queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the government of Ireland should be committed to him, and his conduct; which none of the other commissioners thought of, nor had their eyes fixed on any man but the Marquis of Ormond, in whom the King's authority was vested; for he remained still Lieutenant of Ireland by the King's commission; and they had reason to believe that all the English Protestants, who had formerly lived under his government, (without a conjunction with whom, they well foresaw the Irish would not be able to defend or preserve themselves), would return to the same obedience, as soon as he should return to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not of trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult employment, and so referred the commissioners to make all their overtures and propositions to him; who knew well enough, what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted soever he was to the King's service, nothing proposed or undertaken by them, could have been the least inducement to him to engage himself, and to depend upon their fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire zeal for the King's service, to which he had dedicated himself, made him believe

lieve that he might with some success appear again in that kingdom, in this conjuncture ; and that his so doing might have a good effect upon the temper of England towards the mending his Majesty's condition there.

First, the Cardinal Mazarine (who then absolutely governed France) seemed very earnestly to advise it, and promised to supply him with a good sum of money, and store of arms and ammunition to carry with him ; which he knew very well how to dispose of there. Secondly, he was privy to the Scottish engagement, and to a resolution of many persons of great honour in England, to appear in arms at the same time ; which was designed for the summer following ; whereby the Parliament, and army, which were like to have new divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send any considerable supplies into Ireland ; without which, their power there was not like to be formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater encouragement than the other two, he had, during his abode in England, held a close correspondence with the Lord Inchiquin, President of the province of Munster in Ireland, who had the full power of command of all the English army there ; which was a better body of men than the Parliament had in any other part of that kingdom. That Lord was weary of his masters, and did not think the service he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole kingdom had been united to his Majesty's service) well requited ; and did really and truly abhor the proceedings of the Parliament towards the King ; and did therefore resolve, to do what he had formerly done amiss, with

had for his Majesty's restoration; and had frankly promised the Marquis to receive him into Munster, as the King's Lieutenant of that kingdom; and that that whole province, and army, should pay him all obedience; and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a cessation with the Irish in order to a firm conjunction of that whole kingdom for the King. After the Marquis came into France, he received still letters from that lord to hasten his journey thither.

These were the motives which disposed the Marquis to comply with the Queen's and the Prince's command to prepare himself for that expedition; and so he concerted all things with the Irish commissioners; who returned into their country, with promises to dispose their General Assembly to consent to those conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

The Parliament had too many spies and agents at Paris, not to be informed of whatsoever was whispered there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the Irish, (for of the Lord Inchiquin they had no suspicion), or were confident of the Cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they were not so apprehensive of trouble from Ireland as they were of their brethren from Scotland; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a Parliament, and to raise an army; which, they believed, would find too many friends in England, the Presbyterian party holding up their heads again, both in the Parliament, and the city. Besides, they knew that some persons of quality and interest, who had served the King in good command in the late war, were gone into Scotland,

land, and well received there; which, they thought, would draw the King's party together upon the first appearance.

After the King had been so infamously delivered up to the Parliament by the Scots at Newcastle, and as soon as the army had possessed themselves of him, that nation was in terrible apprehension that the officers of the army would have made their peace, and established their own greatness by restoring the King to his just rights, of which they had so foully deprived him; and then the conscience of their guilt made them presume, what their lot must be; and therefore, the same commissioners who had been joined with the committee of Parliament in all the transactions, made haste to Westminster again to their old seats, to keep their interest; which was great in all the Presbyterian party, both of Parliament and city; for there remained still the same profession of maintaining the strict union between the two kingdoms, and that all transactions should be by joint counsels. And as soon as the King appeared with some shew of liberty, and his own servants had leave to attend him, no men appeared with more confidence than the Scottish commissioners; the Earl of Lowden, the Earl of Lautherdale, and the rest; as if they had been the men who had contrived his restoration: men in so frequent whispers with the King; and who found some way to get themselves so much beloved by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent correspondence, that her Majesty very earnestly persuaded the King "to trust them, as the only persons who had power and credit to do him service, and to deliver him from the captivity he was in." These commissioners, who had been sent prisoner by the King to Pendennis, and had been delivered

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L 4 army,

Duke Hamilton goes into Scotland.

army, when that place was taken in the end of the war, had enjoyed his liberty at London, and in his own house at Chelsea, as long as he thought fit, that is, near as long as the King was with the Scottish army and at Newcastle; and some time before his Majesty was delivered up to the Parliament commissioners, he went into Scotland to his own house at Hamilton; looked upon by that nation as one who had unjustly suffered under the King's jealousy and displeasure, and who remained still very faithful to him; and during the time that he remained in and about London, he found means to converse with many of the King's party, and made great professions that he would do the King a very signal service, which he desired them to assure his Majesty of; and seemed exceedingly troubled and ashamed at his countrymen's giving up the King. His having no share in that infamy made him the more trusted in England, and to be received with the more respect in Scotland by all those who abhorred that transaction.

The commissioners who attended his Majesty made great apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "malice and power of the Marquis of Argyle, and
 "to his credit and authority in the council and in the
 "army; so that nothing could be done which was desired
 "by honest men; but that now Duke Hamilton was
 "amongst them, who they knew was most devoted to his
 "Majesty, they should be able to overpower Argyle;
 "and the proceedings of the army and the Parliament
 "were so foul, and so contrary to their public faith,
 "that they were confident that all Scotland would rise
 "as one man for his Majesty's defence and vindication;
 "and they were well assured, there would such a party
 "in England of those who were faithful to his Majesty,
 "appear at the same time, that there would be little
 "question

“ question of being able, between them, to be hard
 “ enough for that part of the army that would oppose
 “ them ;” which his Majesty knew well was resolved by
 many persons of honour, who afterwards performed what
 they had promised.

When the commissioners had, by these insinuations,
 gained new credit with the King, and had undertaken,
 that their invading England with an army equal to the
 undertaking, should be the foundation upon which all
 other hopes were to depend, (for no attempt in England
 could be reasonable before such an invasion, which was
 likewise to be hastened, that it might be at the same time
 when the Marquis of Ormond should appear in Ireland),
 they began to propose to him many conditions, which
 would be necessary for his Majesty to engage himself to
 perform towards that nation ; without which it would
 not be easy to induce it into so unanimous a consent
 and engagement, as was necessary for such an enterprise.
 They required, as a thing without which nothing was
 to be undertaken, “ that the Prince of Wales should be
 “ present with them, and march in the head of their
 “ army ; and desired that advertisement, and order,
 “ might be sent to that purpose to the Queen and the
 “ Prince at Paris ; that so his Highness might be ready
 “ for the voyage, as soon as they should be prepared to
 “ receive him.” The King would by no means consent
 that the Prince should go into Scotland, being too well
 acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that party
 there ; but he was contented, that when they should
 have entered England with their army, then the Prince
 of Wales should put himself in the head of them.
 They demanded, “ that such a number of Scotchmen
 “ should be always in the Court, of the Bedchamber,
 “ and

The com-
 missioners
 of Scot-
 land's pri-
 vate treaty
 with the
 King at
 Hampton
 Court.

“ and all other places about the persons of the King,
 “ and Prince, and Duke of York: that Berwick and
 “ Carlisle should be put into the hands of the Scots;
 and some other concessions with reference to the
 northern counties; which trenched so far upon the ho-
 nour and interest of the English, that his Majesty ut-
 terly refused to consent to it; and so the agreement was
 not concluded when the King left Hampton Court.
 But, as soon as he was at the Isle of Wight, the Scottish
 commissioners repaired to him, at the same time with
 those who were sent to him from the Parliament for his
 royal assent to those four bills spoken of before; then,
 in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to sign
 the propositions he had formerly refused; and, having
 great apprehension, from the jealousies they knew the
 army had of them, that they should be seized upon, and
 searched in their return to London, they made up their
 precious contract in lead; and buried it in a garden in
 the Isle of Wight; from whence they easily found
 means afterwards to receive it. So constant were those
 men to their principles, and so wary to be sure to be no
 losers by returning to their allegiance; to which neither
 conscience nor honour did invite or dispose them. So
 after a stay of some months at London to adjust all
 accounts, and receive the remainder of those monies
 they had so dearly earned, or so much of it as they had
 hope would be paid, they returned to Scotland, with the
 hatred and contempt of the army, and the Parliament,
 that was then governed by it; but with the veneration
 of the Presbyterian party, which still had faith in them,
 and exceedingly depended upon their future negotia-
 tion; which was now incumbent upon them: and, in
 order thereunto, a fast intercourse and correspondence

Which trea-
 ty was re-
 newed; and
 he signed 'it
 at the Isle of
 Wight.

was settled, as well by constant letters, as by frequent missaries of their Clergy, or other persons, whose devotion to their combination was unquestionable.

It can never be enough wondered at that the Scottish Presbyterians, being a watchful and crafty people, the principal of whom were as unrestrained by conscience as any of the officers of the army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their interest by such conditions and limitations, as all wise men saw must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the spirit of their own people, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their chief dependence was upon the assistance they should find ready to join with them in England. It is true, they did believe the body of the Presbyterians in England to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the most considerable persons who in the contest with the other faction were content to be thought Presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the King; which they more impatiently desired, than any alteration in the government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the royal party, upon whose interest, conduct, and courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the Scots; who did publicly profess that all the King's friends should be most welcome, and received by them: nor did they trust any one Presbyterian in England with the knowledge of the particulars contained in the agreement with the King; but concealed it between the three persons who transacted it; and if it had been known, Cromwell might as easily have

have overrun the country before their army invaded England, as he did afterwards ; nor would one Englishman have joined with them. Besides the infamous circumstances by which they extorted concessions from the King, which would have rendered any contract odious, (it being made in those four days, which were all that were assigned both to the English and Scottish commissioners, so that his Majesty had not only no time to advise with others, but could not advise with himself upon so many monstrous particulars as were demanded of him by both kingdoms; which if he could have done he would no more then have submitted to them, than he did afterwards upon long deliberation, and when his life appeared to be in more manifest danger by his refusal), the particulars themselves were the most scandalous, and derogatory to the honour and interest of the English nation ; and would have been abominated, if known and understood, by all men, with all possible indignation.

The substance of the treaty signed the 26th of Dec. 1647.

After they had made his Majesty give a good testimony of their League and Covenant, in the preface of their agreement, and “ that the intentions of those who “ had entered into it were real for the preservation of “ his Majesty’s person and authority, according to their “ allegiance, and no ways to diminish his just power “ and greatness,” they obliged him “ as soon as he could, “ with freedom, honour, and safety, be present in a free “ Parliament, to confirm the said League and Covenant “ by Act of Parliament in both kingdoms, for the security of all who had taken, or should take it.” It is true, they admitted a proviso, “ that none who was unwilling, should be constrained to take it.” They likewise obliged his Majesty “ to confirm by Act of Parliament in England, Presbyterian government ; the “ Directory

' Directory for worship; and the Assembly of Divines
 ' at Westminster, for three years; so that his Majesty,
 ' and his household, should not be hindered from using
 ' that form of divine service he had formerly practised;
 ' and that during those three years there should be a
 ' consultation with the Assembly of Divines, to which
 ' twenty of the King's nomination should be added,
 ' and some from the Church of Scotland; and there-
 ' upon it should be determined by his Majesty, and
 ' the two Houses of Parliament, what form of govern-
 ' ment should be established after the expiration of
 ' those years, as should be most agreeable to the word of
 ' God: that an effectual course should be taken by Act
 ' of Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient,
 ' for the suppressing the opinions and practices of Anti-
 ' Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Ana-
 ' baptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brown-
 ' ists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers,
 ' and, generally, for the suppressing all blasphemy, heresy,
 ' schism, and all such scandalous doctrines and practices as
 ' are contrary to the light of nature, and to the known
 ' principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith,
 ' worship, or conversation, or the power of godliness, or
 ' which may be destructive to order and government,
 ' or to the peace of the church or kingdom." The
 King promised, "that in the next session of Parliament,
 " after the kingdom of Scotland should declare for his
 " Majesty, in pursuance of this agreement, he should
 " in person, or by commission, confirm the League and
 " Covenant in that kingdom; and concerning all the
 " Acts passed in the last Parliament of that kingdom,"
 his Majesty declared, " that he should then likewise be
 " content to give assurance by Act of Parliament, that
 " neither he, nor his successors, should quarrel, call in
 " question,

“ question, or command the contrary of any of them, or
 “ question any for giving obedience to the same.” They
 they made a long recital of “ the agreement the Par-
 “ ment of England had made, when the Scots army
 “ turned to Scotland, that the army under Fairfax should
 “ be disbanded ; and of that army’s submitting them-
 “ unto; of their taking the King from Holmby, and
 “ keeping him prisoner till he fled from them to the Isle
 “ of Wight ; and since that time both his Majesty, and
 “ the commissioners for the kingdom of Scotland, had
 “ very earnestly desired that the King might come to
 “ London, in safety, honour, and freedom, for a perfect
 “ treaty with the two Houses and the commissioners
 “ of the Parliament of Scotland ; which, they said,
 “ had been granted, but that the army had, in violent
 “ manner, forced away divers members of the Parlia-
 “ ment from the discharge of their trust, and possessed
 “ themselves of the city of London, and all the strength
 “ and garrisons of the kingdoms : and that by the
 “ strength and influence of that army, and their ad-
 “ herents, propositions and bills had been sent to the
 “ King without the advice and consent of the kingdom
 “ of Scotland, contrary to the treaties which are between
 “ the two kingdoms, and destructive to religion, to his
 “ Majesty’s just rights, the privileges of Parliament, and
 “ liberty of the subject ; from which propositions and
 “ bills the Scottish commissioners had dissented, and pro-
 “ tested against, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland.”

After this preamble and recital, they said, “ that for-
 “ asmuch as his Majesty is willing to give satisfaction
 “ concerning the settling religion, and other matters in
 “ difference, as is expressed in this agreement, the king-
 “ dom of Scotland doth oblige and engage itself, first
 “ in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour that the
 “ King

“ King may come to London in safety, honour, and
 “ freedom, for a personal treaty with the Houses of Par-
 “ liament and the commissioners of Scotland, upon such
 “ propositions as should be mutually agreed on between
 “ the kingdoms, and such propositions as his Majesty
 “ should think fit to make; and for this end all armies
 “ should be disbanded: and in case that this should not
 “ be granted, that declarations should be emitted by the
 “ kingdom of Scotland in pursuance of this agreement,
 “ against the unjust proceedings of the two Houses of
 “ Parliament towards his Majesty and the kingdom of
 “ Scotland; in which they would assert the right that
 “ belonged to the Crown, in the power of the militia,
 “ the Great Seal, bestowing of honours and offices of
 “ trust, choice of the privy counsellors, and the right of
 “ the King’s negative voice in Parliament: and that the
 “ Queen’s Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of the royal
 “ issue, ought to remain where his Majesty shall think
 “ fit in either of his kingdoms, with safety, honour, and
 “ freedom: that, upon the issuing out this declaration,
 “ an army should be sent out of Scotland into England,
 “ for the preservation and establishment of religion; for
 “ defence of his Majesty’s person and authority, and
 “ restoring him to his government, to the just rights of
 “ the Crown, and his full revenues; for defence of the
 “ privileges of Parliament, and liberties of the subject:
 “ for making a firm union between the kingdoms under
 “ his Majesty, and his posterity, and securing a lasting
 “ peace.” In pursuance whereof, the kingdom of Scot-
 “ land was to endeavour “ that there might be a free and
 “ full Parliament in England, and that his Majesty might
 “ be with them in honour, safety, and freedom: and
 “ that a speedy period be set to the ~~present~~ ^{present} Parliament.
 “ And they undertook, that the ~~same~~ ^{same} ~~thing~~ ^{thing} ~~should~~ ^{should} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~done~~ ^{done}

“ would raise should be upon its march, before the
“ message and declaration should be delivered to the
“ Houses.” It was farther agreed, “ that all such in
“ the kingdoms of England and Ireland, as would join
“ with the kingdom of Scotland in pursuance of this
“ agreement, should be protected by his Majesty in their
“ persons and estates ; and that all his Majesty’s sub-
“ jects in England or Ireland who would join with him,
“ in pursuance of this agreement, might come to the
“ Scottish army, and join with them, or else put them-
“ selves into other bodies in England or Wales, for
“ prosecution of the same ends, as the King’s Majesty
“ should judge most convenient, and under such com-
“ manders, or generals of the English nation, as his
“ Majesty should think fit : and that all such should be
“ protected by the kingdom of Scotland, and their
“ army, in their persons and estates ; and where any
“ injury or wrong is done unto them, they would be
“ careful to see them fully repaired, as far as it should
“ be in their power to do ; and likewise when any injury
“ or wrong is done to those who join with the kingdom
“ of Scotland, his Majesty shall be careful of their full
“ reparation.”

They obliged his Majesty to promise “ that neither
“ himself, nor any by his authority or knowledge, should
“ make or admit of any cessation, pacification, or agree-
“ ment whatsoever for peace, nor of any treaty, propo-
“ sitions, bills, or any other ways for that end, with the
“ Houses of Parliament, or any army or party in England,
“ or Ireland, without the advice and consent of the
“ kingdom of Scotland ; and, reciprocally, that neither
“ the kingdom of Scotland, nor any having their autho-
“ rity, should make or admit of any of these any man-
“ ner of way, with any whatsoever, without his Ma-
“ jesty’s

" jefty's advice or consent : and that, upon the settle-
 " ment of a peace, there should be an act of oblivion to
 " be agreed on by his Majesty, and both his Parliaments
 " of both kingdoms : that his Majesty, the Prince, or
 " both, should come into Scotland upon the invitation
 " of that kingdom, and their declaration, that they
 " should be in honour, freedom, and safety, when possi-
 " bly they could come with safety and convenience; and
 " that the King should contribute his utmost endeavour,
 " both at home and abroad, for assisting the kingdom
 " of Scotland for carrying on this war by sea and land,
 " and for their supplies by monies, arms, ammunition,
 " and all other things requisite, as also for guarding the
 " coasts of Scotland with ships, and protecting all their
 " merchants in the free exercise of their trade and com-
 " merce with other nations; and likewise that his Ma-
 " jefty was willing, and did authorize the Scottish army
 " to possess themselves of Berwick, Carlisle, Newcastle
 " upon Tyne, with the castle of Tinnmouth, and the
 " town of Hartlepool: those places to be for retreat,
 " and magazines; and that, when the peace of the
 " kingdom should be settled, the kingdom of Scotland
 " should remove their forces, and deliver back again
 " those towns and castles."

And as if all this had not been recompence enough
 for the wonderful service they were like to perform, they
 obliged the King to promise, and undertake to pay, the
 remainder of that brotherly assistance which was yet un-
 paid upon the large treaty after their first invasion of
 England, and likewise two hundred thousand pounds,
 which remained still due upon the last treaty made with
 the Houses of Parliament for return of the Scottish
 army, when they had delivered up the King; and also,
 " that payment should be made to the kingdom of

“ Scotland, for the charge and expence of their army
“ in this future war, with due recompence for the losses
“ which they should sustain therein ; and that due satisfaction, according to the treaty on that behalf betwixt the two kingdoms, should be made to the Scottish army in Ireland, out of the lands of the kingdom, or otherwise : and that the King, according to the intention of his father, should endeavour a complete union of the two kingdoms, so as they may be one under his Majesty, and his posterity ; or if that cannot speedily be effected, that all liberties and privileges, concerning commerce, traffic, manufactures, peculiar to the subjects of either nation, shall be common to the subjects of both kingdoms without distinction ; and that there be a communication, and mutual capacity, of all other liberties of the subjects in the two kingdoms : that a competent number of ships should be yearly assigned, and appointed out of his Majesty’s navy, which should attend the coasts of Scotland, for a guard, and freedom of trade of that nation ; and that his Majesty should declare that his successors, as well as himself, are obliged to the performance of the articles and conditions of this agreement ; but that his Majesty shall not be obliged to the performance of the aforesaid articles, until the kingdom of Scotland shall declare for him in pursuance of this agreement ; and that the whole articles and conditions aforesaid shall be finished, perfected, and performed, before the return of the Scottish army ; and that when they return into Scotland, at the same time, *simul et semel*, all armies should be disbanded in England.” And for a compliment, and to give a relish to all the rest, the King engaged himself “ to employ those of the Scottish nation equally with the English
“ in

“ in all foreign employments, and negociations ; and
 “ that a third part of all the offices and places about the
 “ King, Queen, and Prince, should be conferred upon
 “ some persons of that nation ; and that the King and
 “ Prince, or one of them, will frequently reside in Scot-
 “ land, that the subjects of that kingdom may be
 “ known to them.” This treaty and agreement being
 thus presented to the King by the Scottish commis-
 sioners in the castle of Carisbrook, his Majesty was pre-
 vailed with to sign the same the 26th day of December,
 1647 ; and to oblige himself, “ in the word of a King,
 “ to perform his part of the said articles ;” and the Earl
 of Lowden, Chancellor of Scotland, and the Earl of
 Lautherdale, and the Earl of Lanrick, being entrusted
 as commissioners from that kingdom, signed it likewise
 at the same time ; and engaged themselves “ upon
 “ their honour, faith, and conscience, and all that is
 “ dear to honest men, to endeavour to the utmost of
 “ their power, that the kingdom of Scotland should en-
 “ gage to perform what was on its part to be performed ;
 “ which they were confident the kingdom of Scotland
 “ would do, and they themselves would hazard their
 “ lives and fortunes in pursuance thereof.”

No man who reads this treaty (which very few men
 have ever done) can wonder that such an engagement
 met with the fate that attended it ; which contained so
 many monstrous concessions, that, except the whole
 kingdom of England had been likewise imprisoned in
 Carisbrook castle with the King, it could not be ima-
 gined that it was possible to be performed ; and the
 three persons who were parties to it were too wise to
 believe that it could be punctually observed ; which
 they used as the best argument, and which only pre-
 vailed with the King, “ that the treaty was only made

“ to enable them to engage the kingdom of Scotland to
 “ raise an army, and to unite it in his Majesty’s service;
 “ which less than those concessions would never induce
 “ them to do; but when that army should be entered into
 “ England, and so many other armies should be on foot
 “ of his English subjects for the vindication of his in-
 “ terest, there would be nobody to exact all those parti-
 “ culars; but every body would submit to what his
 “ Majesty should think fit to be done;” which, though
 it had been urged more than once before to induce the
 King to consent to other inconveniences, which they
 would never after release to him, did prevail with him
 at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of
 it, they were contented that it should be inserted under
 the same treaty, as it was, “ that his Majesty did de-
 “ clare, that by the clause of confirming Presbyte-
 “ rian government by Act of Parliament, he is neither
 “ obliged to desire the settling Presbyterian government,
 “ nor to present any bills to that effect; and that he
 “ likewise understands that no person whatsoever shall
 “ suffer in his estate, nor undergo any corporal punish-
 “ ment, for not submitting to Presbyterian government;
 “ his Majesty understanding that this indemnity should
 “ not extend to those who are mentioned in the article
 “ against toleration :” and to this the three earls like-
 wise subscribed their hands, “ as witnesses only, as they
 “ said, that his Majesty had made that declaration in their
 “ presence, not as assenters ;” so wary they were of ad-
 ministering jealousy to their masters, or of being thought
 to be less rigid in so fundamental a point, as they knew
 that would be thought to be.

The Au-
 thor’s judg-
 ment of the
 different
 conduct of

There was a wonderful difference, throughout their
 whole proceedings, between the heads of those who were
 thought to sway the Presbyterian counsels, and those
 who

who governed the Independents, though they were ^{the two parties, the} equally masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice ^{Inde-} and wickedness in their intentions, though not of the ^{pendent} same kind, and were equally unrestrained by any scruples or motions of conscience, the Independents always doing that, which, how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the Presbyterians, for the most part, did somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally designed; and there were two reasons that might naturally produce this ill success to the latter, at least hindered the even progress and current which favoured the other. First, their councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many men, whose humours and natures must be observed, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other party was entirely led and governed by two or three, to whom they resigned, implicitly, the conduct of their interest; who advanced, when they saw it reasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awakened by the progress they had made.

In the second place, the Presbyterians, by whom I mean the Scots, formed all their counsels by the inclinations and affections of the people; and first considered how they might corrupt, and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolved to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless and wretched Clergy; whose infectious breath corrupted and

governed the people, and whose authority was prevalent upon their own wives, and in their domestic affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: whereas, on the other side, Cromwell, and the few others with whom he consulted, first considered what was absolutely necessary to their main and determined end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it; to cozen and deceive men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon motives how foreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so the one resolved, only to do what they believed the people would like and approve; and the other, that the people should like and approve what they had resolved. And this difference in the measures they took, was the true cause of so different success in all they undertook. Machiavel, in this, was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking: (he was as great an enemy to tyranny and injustice in any government, as any man then was, or now is; and says) “that a man
“were better be a dog than be subject to those passions
“and appetites, which possess all unjust, and ambitious,
“and tyrannical persons;” but he confesses, “that they
“who are so transported, and have entertained such wicked
“designs as are void of all conscience, must not think
“to prosecute them by the rules of conscience, which
“was laid aside, or subdued, before they entered upon
“them; they must make no scruple of doing all those
“impious things which are necessary to compass and sup-
“port

" port the impiety to which they have devoted themselves;
 " and therefore he commends Cæsar Borgia for not be-
 " ing startled with breach of faith, perjuries, and mur-
 " ders, for the removal of those men who he was sure
 " would cross and enervate the whole enterprise he had
 " resolved, and addicted himself to ; and blames those
 " usurpers, who had made themselves tyrants, for hop-
 " ing to support a government by justice, which they
 " had assumed unjustly, and which having wickedly at-
 " tempted, they manifestly lost by not being wicked
 " enough." The common old adage, " that he who hath
 " drawn his sword against his Prince, ought to throw away
 " the scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again,"
 will still hold good ; and they who enter upon unwar-
 rantable enterprises, must pursue many unwarrantable ways
 to preserve themselves from the penalty of the first guilt.

Cromwell, though the greatest dissembler living, always
 made his hypocrisy of singular use and benefit to him ;
 and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent
 soever it seemed to be, but what was necessary to the de-
 sign ; even his roughness and unpolishedness, which, in
 the beginning of the Parliament, he affected contrary to
 the smoothness and complacency, which his cousin,
 and bosom friend, Mr. Hambden, practised towards all
 men, was necessary ; and his first public declaration, in
 the beginning of the war, to his troop when it was first
 mustered, " that he would not deceive or cozen them by
 " the perplexed and involved expressions in his commis-
 " sion, to fight for King and Parliament;" and therefore
 told them, " that if the King chanced to be in the body
 " of the enemy that he was to charge, he would as soon
 " discharge his pistol upon him, as any other private
 " person ; and if their conscience would not permit
 " them to do the like, he advised them not to list them-
 " selves

“ selves in his troop, or under his command ;” which was generally looked upon as imprudent and malicious, and might, by the professions the Parliament then made, have proved dangerous to him ; yet served his turn, and severed from others, and united among themselves, all the furious and incensed men against the government, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to look upon him as a man for their turn, upon whom they might depend, as one who would go through his work that he undertook. And his strict and unfociable humour in not keeping company with the other officers of the army in their jollities and excesses, to which most of the superior officers under the Earl of Essex were inclined, and by which he often made himself ridiculous or contemptible, drew all those of the like sour or reserved natures to his society and conversation, and gave him opportunity to form their understandings, inclinations, and resolutions, to his own model. By this he grew to have a wonderful interest in the common soldiers, out of which, as his authority increased, he made all his officers, well instructed how to live in the same manner with their soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purposes : whilst he looked upon the Presbyterian humour as the best incentive to rebellion, no man more a Presbyterian ; he sung all psalms with them to their tunes, and loved the longest sermons as much as they ; but when he discovered that they would prescribe some limits and bounds to their rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would expire as soon as some few particulars were granted to them in religion, which he cared not for ; and then that the government must run still in the same channel ; it concerned him to make it believed “ that the State had been more delinquent than “ the Church, and that the people suffered more by the
“ civil

“ civil than by the ecclesiastical power ; and therefore
 “ that the change of one would give them little ease, if
 “ there were not as great an alteration in the other, and if
 “ the whole government in both were not reformed and
 “ altered ;” which though it made him generally odious
 at first, and irreconciled many of his old friends to him ;
 yet it made those who remained, more cordial and firm :
 he could better compute his own strength, and upon whom
 he might depend. This discovery made him contrive
 the new model of the army ; which was the most un-
 popular act, and disobliged all those who first contrived
 the rebellion, and who were the very soul of it ; and
 yet, if he had not brought that to pass, and changed a
 general, who, though not very sharp-sighted, would
 never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not
 like, for another who had no eyes, and so would be will-
 ing to be led, all his designs must have come to nothing,
 and he remained a private colonel of horse, not con-
 siderable enough to be in any figure upon an advan-
 tageous composition.

After all the successes of his new model, he saw his
 army was balanced by that of the Scots, who took
 themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was
 thought to have contributed no less towards the suppres-
 sion of the King, than that under Fairfax had done ;
 and after all the victories, and reduction of the King to
 that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit
 again to the subjection of the King : nor was it yet
 time for him to own or communicate his resolution to
 the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the
 extirpation of monarchy, might be startled at the diffi-
 culty of the enterprise, and with the power that was like
 to oppose them. He was therefore first to incense the
 people against the Scottish nation, “ as being a merce-
 “ nary

“ nary aid, entertained at a vast charge to the kingdom,
“ that was only to be paid their wages, and to be dis-
“ missed, without having the honour to judge with
“ them upon what conditions the King should be re-
“ ceived, and restored; the accomplishing whereof
“ ought to be the particular glory of the Parliament
“ without a rival, and that the King might owe the
“ benefit wholly to them.” And this was as popular an
argument as he could embark himself in, the whole
kingdom in general having at that time a great detesta-
tion of the Scots; and they who most desired the King’s
restoration wished that he might have as little obliga-
tion to them as was possible, and that they might have
as little credit afterwards with him. With this univer-
sal applause, he compelled the Scottish army to depart
the kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after
render them odious and infamous. There now seemed
nothing more dangerous and destructive to the power
and interest of the English army, in so general a discon-
tent throughout the kingdom, than a division, and mu-
tiny within itself; that the common soldiers should
erect an authority distinct from their officers, by which
they would choose to govern against their superior com-
manders, at least without them, and to fancy that they
had an interest of their own severed from theirs, for
the preservation whereof they were to trust none but
themselves; which had scarce ever been heard of before
in any army, and was looked upon as a presage of the
ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to
them; yet, if he had not raised this seditious spirit in
the army, he could not have prevented the disbanding
some part of it, and sending another part of it into
Ireland, before the Scots left Newcastle; nor have been
able to have taken the King from Holmby into the
hands

hands of the army, after the Scots were gone. And after all his hypocrisy towards the King and his party, by which he prevented many inconveniences which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again so unreproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving cause to the King to suspect the safety of his person, and thereupon to make his escape from the army; by which his Majesty quickly became a prisoner, and so was deprived of any resort, from whence many mischiefs might have proceeded to have disturbed his counsels. How constantly he pursued this method in his subsequent actions, will be observed in its place.

Contrary to this the Presbyterian Scots proceeded, in all their actions after their first invasion in the year 1640, and always interwove some conditions in their counsels and transactions, which did not only prove; but, in the instant, might have been discerned to be, diametrically opposite to their public interest, and to their particular designs. It is very true, that their first invasion, saving their breach of allegiance, might have some excuse from their interest. They were a poor people, and though many particular men of that nation had received great bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the Court of England by King James and the present King, yet those particular men, who had been and then were in the Court, were, for the most part, persons of little interest in Scotland; nor was that kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they thought themselves exposed to some late pressures, which were new to them, and which their preachers told them "were against conscience, and an invasion of their "religion;" from which they had vindicated themselves so rudely and unwarrantably, that they might well expect

pect to be called to an account hereafter, if those persons, whom they had most provoked, retained their interest still with the King, and in his councils; from whom they were promised to be secured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into England with an army, give their friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and so to procure relief and security for both kingdoms. In this enterprise, the success crowned their work; they were thought a wise and a resolute nation; and after an unbloody war of above a year, they returned into their country laden with spoils and great riches; and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into England. But from their return from this expedition, their whole true interest consisted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his honour and interest from all assaults; and their being suborned afterwards (when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his English rebels to their obedience, by the strength and power of his arms) to make a second invasion of the kingdom, was a weak and childish engagement, directly opposite to their interest, except they had at the same time a resolution to have changed their own government, and for ever to have renounced subjection to monarchy, (which was never in their purpose to do), or to withdraw it from the present King. Again, when his Majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his royal person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the eyes of the world, and to undo some part of the mischief they had done, it was surely their interest to have joined cordially with him, and firmly to have united themselves to his party in vindication of the law, and the government established;

established; and if they had not had the courage at that time to have looked the English army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their interest to have retired with the King in the head of their army into Scotland; and, leaving good garrisons in Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, all which were in their possession, to have expected a revolution in England from the divisions amongst themselves, and from some conjunction with a strong body of the King's English party, which would quickly have found themselves together; but the delivery of the King up, besides the infamy of it, was, in view, destructive to all that could be thought their interest.

After all this, when they found themselves cozened and deceived in all the measures they had taken, and laughed at and despised by those who had deceived them, to have a new opportunity to serve the King, and then to insist upon such conditions as must make it impossible for them to serve him effectually, was such a degree of weakness, and a depraved understanding, that they can never be looked upon as men who knew what their interest was, or what was necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we shall be obliged to observe how incorrigibly they adhered to this obstinate and forward method, in all the transactions they afterwards had with the King; all which turned, as it could not but do, to their own ruin, and the destruction of that idol they adored, and paid their devotion to. But it is time to return to our discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

All designs and negotiations, abroad and at home, being in this state and condition, the King remained under a strict and disconsolate imprisonment, no man being suffered to speak with him, and all diligence used

The King's condition in the Isle of Wight at this time.

to

to intercept all letters which might pass to or from him ; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some inhabitants of the island, to receive important advertisements from his friends ; and to write to and receive letters from the Queen ; and so he informed her of the Scottish transaction, and of all the other hopes he had ; and seemed to have some ease ; and looked upon it as a good omen, that in that desperate lowness of his fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but men of inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and man, his Majesty's gracious disposition and generous affability still wrought upon some foldier, or other person placed about him, to undertake and perform some offices of trust, in conveying papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had natural duty ; or some desperate men had so much craft, and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for, nor desired. But many, who did undertake to perform those offices, did not make good what they promised ; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

The present
condition
of the Par-
liament.

In the Parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the public ; but in all those transactions which concerned particular persons, with reference to rewards, preferments, or matter of profit, men were considered according to the party they were of ; every day those received benefit who had appeared most to adhere to the army ; the notorious Presbyterians were removed from places of profit and authority, which vexed them, and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the pulpit-skirmishes were higher than ever ; the Presbyterians, in those

those fields, losing nothing of their courage, having a notorious power in the city, notwithstanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more learned and rational; who, though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet infected, and were followed by, the most substantial and wealthy citizens, and by others of better condition. To these men Cromwell and most of the officers of the army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the divinity of the time was not to be judged by the preaching, and congregations in churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for devotion and religious assemblies, where the Bishops had exercised such illimited tyranny, and which had been polluted by their original consecrations. Liberty of conscience was now become the great charter; and men who were *inspired*, preached and prayed when and where they would. Cromwell himself was the greatest preacher; and most of the officers of the army, and many common soldiers, shewed their *gifts* that way. Anabaptists grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurred so far as to join with them for the utter abolishing of tythes, as of Judaical institution; which was now the patrimony of the Presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one party, and defended by the other, with equal passion and animosity. If any honest man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of confusion, as at this time had spread itself over the face of the whole kingdom.

During all this time, the Prince remained at Paris The Prince's condition at Paris. under the government of his mother, exercised with that strictness, that though his Highness was above the age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition

condition the royal family was in. The assignation which was made by the Court of France for the better support of the Prince, was annexed to the monthly allowance given to the Queen, and received by her, and distributed as she thought fit; such clothes and other necessaries provided for his Highness as were thought convenient; her Majesty desiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of Wales to be a pensioner to the King of France. Hereby none of his Highness's servants had any pretence to ask money, but they were to be contented with what should be allowed to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the Prince himself ever master of ten pistoles to dispose as he desired. The Lord Jermyn was the Queen's chief officer, and governed all her receipts, and he loved plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffered. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore his aid; and the Prince himself could obtain nothing but by him; which made most persons of honour of the English nation who were driven into banishment, as many of the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom then were, choose rather to make their residence in any other place, as Caen, Rouen, and the like, than in Paris, where the Prince was, and could do so little: nor was this economy well liked even in France, nor the Prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concerned in his own business.

When the Marquis of Ormond came thither, he was received very graciously by the Queen, and consulted with in all things, being the person most depended upon to begin to give a turn to their fortune, recommended to them

them by the King, and of the most universal reputation of any subject the King had. He pressed a speedy dispatch, that he might pursue his designs in Ireland; where he longed to be, whilst the affairs of that kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He informed the Queen, and the Lord Jermyn, of the necessity of hastening that work, which they understood well enough by the Irish commissioners; who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of promises, a coin that Court always abounded with, and made most of its payments in.

When the Queen, who was as zealous for the dispatch as was possible, pressed the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, upon it, she received in words all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the Marquis spoke first with the Cardinal upon the subject, he found him well disposed; making such ample promises for a very good sum of money, and such a proportion of arms and ammunition, as could be wished. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his embarkation, that those provisions might be sent thither to meet him; and that he should be ready to transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in Ireland, and prepared all his own accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the Cardinal was not so confident of the recovery of the King's affairs as to disoblige the Parliament by contributing towards it: so that affair advanced very slowly.

Having now, contrary to the order formerly observed by me, crowded in all the particular passages and important transactions of two whole years into this book,

that I might not interrupt or discontinue the relation of the mysterious proceedings of the army, their great hypocrisy, and diffimulation, practised towards the King and his party, and then their pulling off their mask, and appearing in their natural dress of inhumanity and savageness, with the vile artifices of the Scottish commissioners to draw the King into their hands, and then their low and base compliance, and gross folly, in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchandly trafficking with him for the price of returning to their allegiance, when there was no other way of preserving themselves, and their nation from being destroyed, the many woful tragedies of the next year; which filled the world with amazement and horror, must be the subject of the discourse in the next book.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XI.

DEUT. XXIX. 24.

Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger?

LAM. ii. 7.

The Lord hath cast off his altar; he hath abhorred his sanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of his palaces; they have made a noise in the house of the Lord as in the day of a solemn feast.

IF a universal discontent and murmuring of the three nations, and almost as general a detestation both of Parliament and army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the King to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed government they had deprived themselves of, could have contributed to his Majesty's recovery, never people were better disposed to erect and repair again the building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled

The temper of the nation at this time.

pulled down. In England there was a general discontent amongst all sorts of men; many officers and soldiers who had served the Parliament from the beginning of the war, and given too great testimonies of their courage and fidelity to their party, and had been disbanded upon the new model, looked upon the present army with hatred, as those who reaped the harvest and reward of their labours, and spake of them and against them in all places accordingly: the nobility and gentry who had advanced the credit and reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it against the King, found themselves totally neglected, and the most inferior people preferred to all places of trust and profit: the Presbyterian ministers talked very loud; their party appeared to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from Scotland, and the importunity and clamour from Ireland, for supplies of men and money against the Irish, who grew powerful, raised the courage of all discontented persons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh against the army, and the officers who corrupted it. The Parliament bore no reproach so concernedly, as that of "the want of supplies to Ireland, and that, having so great an army without an enemy, they would not spare any part of it to preserve that kingdom." This argument made a new warmth in the House of Commons, they who had been silent, and given over insisting upon the insolence and presumption of the army, which had prevailed, and crushed them, took now new spirit, and pressed the relief of Ireland with great earnestness, and in order thereunto made great inquisition into the expences of the money, and how such vast sums received had been disbursed; which was a large field, and led them to many men's doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

The affairs
of Ireland
during the
Lord Lisle's
being there.

There was a design this way to get the Presbyterians
again

again into power, and that they might get the command of an army for the subduing the rebels in Ireland. Cromwell had, for the quieting the clamours from thence, got the Lord Lisle, eldest son to the Earl of Leiceſter, to be ſent under the title of Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom thither, with a commiſſion for a limited time. He had landed in Munſter, either out of the jealouſy they had of the Lord Inchiquin, or becauſe the beſt part of their army of Engliſh were under his command in that province. But that expedition gave the Engliſh no relief, nor weakened the power or ſtrength of the Iriſh, but rather increaſed their reputation by the faction and bitterneſs that was between the Lieutenant and the Preſident, who writ letters of complaint one againſt the other to the Parliament, where they had both their parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his commiſſion being expired, and the contrary party not ſuffering it to be renewed, the Lord Liſle returned again into England, leaving the Lord Inchiquin, whom he meant to have deſtroyed, in the entire poſſeſſion of the command, and in greater reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preſerved both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the arrival of the Marquis of Ormond, and every day informing the Parliament of the ill condition he was in, and preſſing for a ſupply of men and money, when he knew they would ſend neither.

Upon the return of the Lord Liſle the Preſbyterians renewed their deſign, and cauſed Sir William Waller to be named for Deputy or Lieutenant of Ireland, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his ſervice) becauſe he could quickly draw together thoſe officers and ſoldiers which had ſerved under him, and were now diſbanded, and would willingly

Waller nominated General there, but oppoſed by Cromwell, who propoſed Lambert.

again engage under their old General. At the first, Cromwell did not oppose this motion, but consented to it, being very willing to be rid both of Waller, and all the officers who were willing to go with him, who he knew were not his friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he saw Waller insist upon great supplies to carry with him, as he had reason to do, and when he considered of what consequence it might be to him and all his designs, if a well formed and disciplined army should be under the power of Waller, and such officers, he changed his mind; and first set his instruments to cross such a supply of men and money, as he had proposed; "the one, as more than necessary for the service; and the other, as more than they could spare from their other occasions:" and when this check was put to Waller's engagement, he caused Lambert to be proposed for that expedition, a man who was then fast to the same interest he embraced, and who had gotten a great name in the army. He formalized so long upon this, that Ireland remained still unsupplied, and their affairs there seemed to be in a very ill condition.

The Scots made so much noise of their purposes, even before their commissioners left London, and gave such constant advertisements of the impatience of their countrymen to be in arms for the King, though they made no haste in providing for such an expedition, that both the Presbyterians, who were their chief correspondents, and the royal party, bethought themselves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themselves from their former guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the King from his imprisonment, but be able to preserve him in liberty from any Presbyterian impositions, which they
still

still apprehended the Scots might endeavour to oppose, though they had no suspicion of the engagement lately mentioned at the Isle of Wight.

The Earl of Holland, who had done twice very no-
 toriously amiss, and had been, since his return from
 Oxford, notably despised by all persons of credit in the
 Parliament and the army, had a mind to redeem his
 former faults by a new and thorough engagement. He
 had much credit by descent and by alliance with the
 Presbyterian party, and was privy to the undertakings of
 Scotland, and had constant intelligence of the advance
 that was made there. His brother, the Earl of War-
 wick, had undergone some mortification with the rest,
 and had not that authority in the naval affairs as he had
 used to have, though he was the High Admiral of
 England by Ordinance of Parliament, and had done
 them extraordinary services. He did not restrain or
 endeavour to suppress the Earl of Holland's discontents,
 but inflamed them, and promised to join with him, as
 many others of that gang of men did; resolving that
 the Scots should not do all that work, but that they
 would have a share in the merit. The Duke of Buck-
 ingham, and his brother, the Lord Francis Villiers, were
 newly returned from travel, and though both very young,
 were strong and active men, and being, in respect of
 their infancy, unengaged in the late war, and so unhurt
 by it, and coming now to the possession of large estates,
 which they thought they were obliged to venture for
 the Crown upon the first opportunity, they fell easily
 into the friendship of the Earl of Holland, and were
 ready to embark themselves in his adventure. The Earl
 had made tender of his resolutions to his old mistress
 the Queen at Paris, who was always disposed to trust
 him, and the Lord Jermyn and he renewed their

The Earl of
 Holland
 prepares to
 rise with the
 Duke of
 Bucks and
 others.

former friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguished.

So a commission was sent from the Prince to the Earl to be General of an army, that was to be raised for the redemption of the King from prison, and to restore the Parliament to its freedom. The Earl of Peterborough, and John Mordaunt his brother, the family of the Earl of Northampton, and all the officers who had served the King in the war, with which the city of London and all parts of the kingdom abounded, applied themselves to the Earl of Holland, and received commissions from him for several commands.

This engagement was so well known, and so generally spoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durst not take notice of it, or wished well to it. And there is no question, never undertaking of that nature was carried on with so little reservation; there was scarce a county in England, in which there was not some association entered into to appear in arms for the King. They who had the principal command in Wales under the Parliament, sent to Paris to declare, "that, "if they might have supply of arms and ammunition, "and a reasonable sum for the payment of their garri- "sons, they would declare for the King, having the "chief places of those parts in their custody." The Lord Jermyn encouraged all those overtures with most positive undertaking, that they should be supplied with all they expected, within so many days after they should declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his custom, never thought of after; by which the service miscarried, and many gallant men were lost.

Cromwell, to whom all these machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a
loose

loose combination could produce, than, by seizing upon persons, to engage the Parliament in examinations, and in parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the Presbyterian party had so great an influence upon the General, that he declared to him, "he would not march against the Scots," whom he had a good mind to have visited before their counsels and resolutions were formed; and Cromwell had reason to believe, that Fairfax would be firm to the same mind, even after they should have invaded the kingdom.

All things being in this forwardness in England, it is fit to enquire how the Scots complied with their obligations, and what expedition they used in raising their army. After the commissioners' return from London, upon the King's being made prisoner in the Isle of Wight, it was long before the Marquis of Argyle could be prevailed with to consent that a Parliament should be called. He had made a fast friendship with Cromwell and Vane; and knew that in this new stipulation with the King, the Hamiltonian faction was the great undertaker, and meant to have all the honour of whatsoever should follow. And yet the Duke upon his return to Scotland lived at first very privately at his own house, seldom went abroad to any meeting; and to those who came to him, and to whom that resolution would be grateful, he used to speak darkly, and as a man that thought more of revenge upon those who had imprisoned him, than of assisting the Crown to recover the authority it had lost. Argyle, whose power was over that violent party of the Clergy which would not depart from the most rigid clause in the Covenant, and were without any reverence for the King or his government, discerned that he should never be able to hinder the

The Scots' preparations for an expedition into England.

the calling of a Parliament, which the people generally called for, and that he should sooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings, and obstructing their determinations, after they should be assembled, than by obstinately opposing their coming together. So summons were issued for the convention of a Parliament; and they who appeared most concerned for the King, and to set him at liberty from his imprisonment, (which was all they pretended), were the Earl of Lanrick, brother to Duke Hamilton, and then restored to his office of Secretary of Scotland, who had been imprisoned at Oxford, and made his escape from thence; and the Earl of Lautherdale, who had been with the forwardest from the beginning of the rebellion, when he was scarce of age, and prosecuted it to the end with most eminent fierceness and animosity.

The characters of Lanrick and Lautherdale.

They were both men of great parts and industry, though they loved pleasures too; both proud and ambitious; the former, much the civilier and better bred, of the better nature, and better judgment, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most men of that party: the latter, insolent, impetuous, flattering, and dissembling, fitter for intrigues and contrivances by the want of the ingenuity which the other had, and by the experience and practice he had in the committee of both kingdoms in their darkest designs. The former was a man of honour and courage; the latter had courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of honour to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions.

These two were the chief managers and contrivers to carry on this affair; for though the Chancellor, the Earl of Lowden, had been a commissioner in England,
and

and as privy to the treaty with the King, and had made as many professions and protestations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious for his loose and vicious life, which was notorious, that he durst not provoke Argyle or the Clergy by dissenting from them. They used all the interest and skill they had, to get such elections in the boroughs of members for the Parliament as might comply with them; and the people generally were exceedingly offended, and ashamed of the infamous delivery up of the King to the English, to which they imputed all the danger that threatened them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their country; and so had great prejudice to all men who were thought to be the cause of it.

At the opening of the Parliament, they did all they could to inflame the people against the army in England; which, they said, "had forced the Parliament there to break the treaty between the two kingdoms in their ill usage of the King, who was imprisoned by the army, nor was it in the power of the Parliament to set him at liberty: that they had now, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by not suffering him to perform the office of a King, nor permitting any of his subjects to repair to him; in which the kingdom of Scotland was concerned, in that being independent upon England, and the Parliament of England, they were by them deprived of their King, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his Majesty to send to them; which was such a presumption, and violation of the law of nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the solemn League and Covenant, and of the treaty between the two kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations human

The Parliament met in Scotland, and their deliberations.

" and

“ and divine to be sensible of it, and to redeem their
“ King’s liberty, and their own honour, with the hazard
“ of their lives and fortunes and all that was dear to
“ them : and therefore they desired that they might
“ enter upon those counsels, which might soonest get an
“ army together, which should no sooner enter England,
“ but it would find a conjunction from that whole
“ kingdom, except only the army ; and that it would
“ then quickly appear that the Parliaments of both
“ kingdoms desired the same thing, and to live happily
“ under the government of the same King.”

This discourse, urged and seconded by many of the principal men, was entertained by the rest with so general a reception, that Argyle found it would be to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it. He saw the election of the knights and burgeses had succeeded according to the wishes of the other lords, and that they would concur with whatsoever was proposed ; and he found likewise that they had wrought upon the greatest part of their Clergy ; who believed all they said to them. He did not therefore oppose any thing proposed by them, but only desired, “ that they would very well
“ weigh the manner of their proceeding in an affair of
“ so great concernment, which was like to terminate in
“ a bloody war between the two kingdoms ; which had
“ hitherto proceeded as brethren, and had both reaped
“ great benefit and advantage from the conjunction :
“ and he hoped there was no purpose to shake any of
“ those foundations which had been laid in the years
“ by-gone, which supported that government, and
“ made that kingdom happy ; which if dissolved, all
“ the mischief and tyranny they had formerly felt and
“ undergone, would break in upon them with a torrent
“ that should destroy them.” Every body declared,
“ that

“ that there was no purpose to swerve, in the least degree, from what was established for the government in either kingdom, by their solemn League and Covenant, which they had in perfect veneration, and looked upon it as an obligation upon them to do all that had been proposed ;” upon which Argyle acquiesced as satisfied, not doubting but that, in the prosecution of their counsels, he should find opportunity enough to obstruct the quick progress, and to interrupt the conclusion, and execution.

The lords who had been in England, and frequented Hampton Court, whilst the King was there, to make themselves the more gracious, had treated all the King's party with all manner of caresses, and more particularly had much applied themselves to those gentlemen of the North who had most eminently served the King, and who had good fortunes there to support their interest. Of this kind there were two very notable men, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave ; both men of large and plentiful estates, the one in Yorkshire, the other in Cumberland and Westmoreland ; who having been in the time of peace eminent in their country in the offices of justices of peace, and deputy lieutenants, had, in the beginning of the war, engaged themselves in commands in the King's army with great reputation of stout, diligent, and active officers ; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themselves to make any composition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their swords in their hands. They were both looked upon by the Parliament, and the chief officers of the army, with great jealousy, as men worthy to be feared, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The Scottish lords had not been scrupulous to let these two gentlemen know what they intended, and

Sir M.
Langdale
and Sir P.
Musgrave
and others,
treated with
by the Scots,
and invited
into Scot-
land ; whi-
ther they
went.

and "that they made no question but they should engage their whole kingdom and nation to enter into a present war with England on the King's behalf; and therefore desired them, by the interest and influence they had upon the northern counties, to dispose them to a conjunction with them." And because they knew that they two were too notorious to stay with any security about London, much less in their own country, they invited them into Scotland, where they assured them, "they should not only be safe, but very welcome; and should be witnesses of their proceedings, and have parts of their own to act in, as soon as the season should be ripe."

These gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and, whilst the army made those professions towards the King, had been much courted by the chief officers thereof, and had been quartered with them as friends, knew well, now the mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themselves to make their compositions, they should be apprehended, and imprisoned. And therefore, being persuaded that the Scots would engage for the King, they accepted their invitation, and told them, "they should quickly find them in Scotland after their own return." Accordingly, after having secretly spent some time in their own countries, and directed their friends to be in a readiness when they should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a way how to correspond together, they went into Scotland to those who had invited them, and were received by them with civility enough. They owned such a wariness, in respect of the jealousies amongst themselves, and the ill arts of Argyle, that they desired them "for some time to withdraw to some place," (which they recommended to them), "and there to remain

“main in secret, and under feigned names, until the
 “calling of the Parliament; at which time they might
 “come to Edinburgh, and appear in their own likeness
 “with all freedom.” So after having remained in that
 private manner, where they were well treated for some
 months, when the Parliament was assembled at Edinburgh,
 they returned thither; and were very well looked
 upon by all that knew them; which made them behave
 themselves with the more freedom and confidence
 in their conversation, the forementioned lords telling
 them all they meant to do, and what arts they were
 to use till they could get their army up, towards
 which they believed they had mastered the greatest difficulties.

Though the Scottish commissioners had withdrawn
 from London, shortly after they had protested loudly
 against the proceedings of the Parliament, both in imprisoning
 the King, and in refusing to give them leave to repair to him,
 or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning
 the government of that kingdom, and thought it high time
 to provide for their own security by quitting their station
 at London, where they received every day affronts, and
 their persons were exposed to contempt; yet there were
 no sooner preparations towards a Parliament in Scotland,
 than commissioners were sent from the Lords and Commons
 at Westminster to reside at Edinburgh, as if they hoped to
 over-vote them there too; and it was evident quickly that
 they were not without a strong or at least an active party
 there. They were received with the same shew of respect,
 and the same care was taken for their accommodation,
 as had been when they first came for contriving of the
 Covenant; not only the Marquis of Argyle, and his party,
 very diligently visited them, and performed all
 offices

Commissioners sent
 from the
 two Houses
 into Scotland.

offices of respect towards them, but even the Hamiltonian faction, and they who were most solicitous to raise the war, attended them as officiously as others, and made the same professions to preserve the peace and amity between the two nations.

That rigid party of the Clergy which so adored the Covenant in the strictest sense of the letter, that they did not desire to have any more dependence upon the King, but in effect to lay him aside, and to settle the government without him, as their brethren in England had resolved to do, were never from them, and willingly received such presents and pensions from the English commissioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much money was given to make them fast friends. By this means nothing was resolved, or proposed in the most secret councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themselves as haughtily and imperiously, as if they had their army at hand to second them. They took notice of the resort of so many English to Edinburgh, and that there were many amongst them who had been in arms against the Parliament, and demanded, "that they might either be banished that kingdom, or delivered to them to be sent to the Parliament."

They were so clamorous in this argument, and found so much countenance to their clamour, that they who had invited the English thither, had not the courage to own them; but advised them underhand, "to absent themselves from the town, till that storm should be over." And even Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, whom, over and above all the discourses held with them at London, the Scottish lords had sent to confer with as they passed through the northern parts homewards, and had then conferred with them

them, and desired them “to prepare all things with
“their friends for the surprisal of Berwick and Carlisle,
“when the season should be ripe, and that they would
“hasten their journey into Scotland, that they might
“be out of danger of imprisonment;” even these men
were desired, “either to withdraw again from Edin-
“burgh, or to keep their chambers there, and not to be
“seen abroad, until their army should be raised, and
“such a General made choice of as would take care of
“their protection.” And they did not conceal from
them, that they made no doubt but that Duke Hamil-
ton should be that General; who often conferred with
them in private, and always assured them, “that what-
“ever was, in that place and season, discoursed of the
“Covenant, which was very necessary to bring their
“designs to pass, he should be no sooner invested in the
“command his friends designed for him, than he would
“manifest his resolution to join with the King’s party,
“upon the true interest of the Crown, without which
“he would hope for little success in England:” and he
desired them, “though they saw little appearance yet of
“raising an army, which would be as soon finished as
“begun, by the method they were accustomed to use,
“that they would write very earnestly to their friends in
“England to begin, as soon as might be, to execute the
“designs they had laid, in as many parts of the king-
“dom as they could upon confidence that they should
“receive relief before they could be oppressed.” To
the same purpose they writ to the Queen, and desired
“that the Prince might be in a readiness to be with
“them against the time their army should be ready to
“march; which, they assured her, should be by the be-
“ginning of May.” All which several advertisements,
being communicated in England, found a people too
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ready to give credit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than they ought to have done; and yet they were hastened by such accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even necessary.

The King, whilst he was at Hampton Court, when he foresaw that the army would not comply with him, as he once believed, and resolved to get themselves out of their hands, had, as is mentioned before, directed the Duke of York, who was of years to be trusted with the secret, "that, when a fit opportunity should be offered, he should make his escape into the parts beyond the seas, and follow the directions of his mother:" and about this time, when so much action was expected, which probably might produce many alterations, his Majesty, in all places, found some way to advertise the Duke, "that it would be a very proper season for him to make his escape." The person who was entrusted to contrive it was Colonel Bamfield, a man of an active and insinuating nature, and dexterous enough in bringing any thing to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no relation to the King's service; he had served the King in the late war as a colonel of foot, and had not behaved himself so well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the other party, and was in truth much more conversant with the Presbyterian party than with the King's. So that his repair often to the place where the Duke of York and the other children were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

The escape
of the Duke
of York be-
yond sea
from St.
James's.

The Duke and his brother and sister were then kept at St. James's, where they had the liberty of the garden and park to walk and exercise themselves in, and lords, and ladies, and other persons of condition, were not restrained from resorting thither to visit them. In this manner Bamfield had been sometimes there; and after he had

had informed the Duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between them, that he might not become suspected by being observed to speak too often with him, he provided a small vessel to be ready about the custom house, and to have its pass for Holland, and then advertised the Duke to be ready in the close of an evening, when playing, as he used to do, with the other children, in a room from whence there was a pair of stairs to the garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither; from whence there was a door into the park; where Bamfield would meet him. And this was so well adjusted, that the Duke came at the hour to the place; where the other met him, and led him presently where a coach was ready, and so carried him into a private house; where he only stayed whilst he put on women's apparel, that was provided for him; and presently, with Colonel Bamfield only, went into a pair of oars that was ready; so he passed the bridge, and went on board the vessel that was ready to receive him; which immediately hoisted sail, and arrived safe in Holland, without any man of the ship having the least imagination what freight they carried.

The Duke, as soon as he was on shore, and in a lodging, resolving no longer to use his woman's habit, stayed there till he advertised his sister, the Princess Royal of Orange, of his arrival; who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the Hague; from whence the Queen was informed, and so knew as soon almost where he was, as she did of his escape from London. The Prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolved which way he should go; so that it was thought best that the Duke should, for the present, stay at the Hague with his sister, till farther resolutions might be taken; and

Sir John
Berkley
made his
Highness's
Governor
in the ab-
sence of the
Lord Byron.

though the service which Bamfield had performed, was very well esteemed, yet they thought the making him a Groom of his Bedchamber, would be an ample recompence, and that it was necessary to put a person of a better quality about his Highness, who might have a superior command over the other servants; and because the Lord Byron, who had been made Governor of the Duke of York by the King, was then in England, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in arms in a quarter assigned to him, Sir John Berkley was sent by the Queen to wait upon the Duke, as Governor in the absence of the Lord Byron, which Bamfield looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the man he hated of all men living, to have the command over him.

The Lord Capel, who was in the most secret part of all these intrigues in England, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the Presbyterians, nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remained still in Jersey, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to embark himself in that attempt, as soon as it should be ripe; and had signified the King's command to him, "that as soon as the Chancellor should be required to wait upon the Prince, he should without delay obey the summons:" and the King had likewise writ to the Queen very positively, "that when it should be necessary for the Prince to remove out of France, the Chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his attendance upon the person of his Royal Highness, in the condition he had formerly done." About the beginning of May, in the year 1648, the Lord Capel, who had always corresponded with the Chancellor, and informed him of the state of affairs, and all that concerned himself, writ
to

to him, "that all things were now so ripe, that he believed the Prince would not find it fit to remain longer in France; and thereupon conjured him that he would be ready, if he should be sent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon his Highness;" which, he said, all the King's friends expected he should do; and which he was resolved to do as soon as the Prince should be out of France, though he should receive no order or invitation so to do.

About the middle of May, the Queen, according to his Majesty's command, sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Jersey, commanding, "that he would wait upon the Prince in the Louvre at Paris," upon a day that was past before the letter came to his hands. The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent for to the Prince from Jersey. But he no sooner received the summons, than he betook himself to the journey, and to transport himself into Normandy; where, after he was landed, he made what haste he could to Caen, supposing he should there find Secretary Nicholas, who had given him notice, "that he had received the same command." When he came to Caen, he found the Secretary's lady there, but himself was gone to Rouen, to the Lord Cottington, and intended to stay there till the other should arrive, and to consult together there upon their farther journey. The old Earl of Bristol, who had lived likewise at Caen, was gone with the Secretary to Rouen, having likewise received the same summons with the others to attend the Prince at the Louvre. The Chancellor hastened to Rouen, where he found the Lord Cottington, who had still the title and precedence of Lord High Treasurer of England, the Earl of Bristol, and Secretary Nicholas, who were all his very good friends, and very glad of his arrival. They had received advertisement, the day before, "that the Prince, with all his small train, was passed by to-

“wards Calais;” and direction was sent, “that the
 “Chancellor, whom they supposed to be on the way,
 “and the rest, should stay at Rouen, till they should
 “receive new orders from Calais, where his Royal
 “Highness would take new measures what he was to
 “do.” So they stayed together at Rouen, where there
 were at the same time very many English of quality in
 their own condition, who were driven out of England,
 as well as they, for their fidelity to the King, and had
 brought somewhat with them for their support abroad,
 till they might upon some good change return to their
 own country. In the mean time they lived very de-
 cently together in that city; where they were well
 esteemed. The way between Rouen and Calais was so
 dangerous without a very strong convoy, that no day
 passed without robberies and murders, so that they were
 glad of their order not to stir from thence, till they
 should receive a very particular direction from the
 Prince; and within few days they received advice, “that
 “the Prince had, as soon as he came to Calais, put him-
 “self on board a ship that he found there bound for
 “Holland, whence they were to hear from him, how
 “they should dispose of themselves.” Whereupon they
 all resolved to remove from Rouen to Dieppe, from
 whence they might embark themselves for Holland if
 they saw cause; the ways by land, in regard that both
 the French and the Spanish armies were in the field, be-
 ing very dangerous.

The Prince
 went into
 Holland
 from Calais.

The revolt
 of part of
 the fleet to
 the King
 from Rain-
 borough.

The Prince's remove from Paris on such a sudden,
 proceeded from an accident in England that was very ex-
 traordinary, and looked like a call from heaven. The
 Parliament about this time had prepared, according to
 custom, a good fleet of ten or a dozen ships for the
 summer guard, and appointed Rainborough to be Ad-
 miral

miral thereof; who had been bred at sea, and was the son of an eminent commander at sea, lately dead; but he himself, from the time of the new model, had been an officer of foot in the army, and was a colonel of special note and account, and of Cromwell's chief confidants. This offended the Earl of Warwick much, and disposed him to that inclination to concur with his brother lately mentioned. Captain Batten likewise was as much unsatisfied, who had acted a great part in the first alienating the fleet and the affections of the seamen from the King, and had ever been their Vice-Admiral afterwards, and one of the persons upon whom they principally relied at sea. Rainborough, as long as he remained in the navy, had been under his command, and both the Earl and Batten well knew that this man was now made Admiral of this fleet, because they, being Presbyterians, should have no credit or influence upon it; which made them solicitous enough that the seamen should not be well pleased with the alteration; and they looked upon Rainborough as a man that had forsaken them, and preferred the land before the sea service. The seamen are in a manner a nation by themselves, a humorous, brave, and sturdy people; fierce, and resolute in whatsoever they are inclined to, somewhat unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it, and jealous of those to-morrow by whom they are governed to-day. These men, observing the general discontent of the people, and that, however the Parliament was obeyed by the power of the army, both army and Parliament were grown very odious to the nation, and hearing so much discourse of an army from Scotland ready to enter into the kingdom, concluded that the King would be restored; and then remembering that the revolt of the fleet was the preamble to the loss of his Majesty's authority every where else, and a

great cause of all his misfortunes, thought it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his Majesty's restoration by their declaring for him. This was an agitation among the common seamen, without communicating it to any officer of the quality of master of a ship. This inclination was much improved in them by a general disposition in Kent to an insurrection for the King, and by some gentlemen's coming on board the ships, according to the custom of that country; who fomented the good disposition in the seamen by all the ways they could.

Commo-
tions in Kent
for the
King. ✓

At this very time there appeared generally throughout Kent the same indigested affection to the King, and inclination to serve him, as was among the seamen, and was conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been designed by those who took care of the King's affairs, and who designed those insurrections which happened in other parts of the kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to this good disposition in the seamen, though they were not without some hope, that, upon all other revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at sea to the advantage of the King's affairs. They had some expectation indeed from Kent, where they knew the people were generally well affected, and depended upon two or three gentlemen of that country, who had been officers in the King's army, and resolved to bring in some troops of horse, when occasion should be ripe; but it was resolved and intended that the Scottish army should be entered the kingdom, by which the Parliament army would be upon their march towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near London; and then they believed that both country and city would rise together. And so
those

those gentlemen of Kent, who were privy to any design, lay privately in London to avoid all cabals in their country; so that what now fell out there, was by mere chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

There happened to be at some jovial meeting in Kent about that time, one Mr. L'Estrange, a younger brother of a good family in Norfolk, who had been always of the King's party, and for attempting somewhat in his own country for his Majesty's service, had been taken prisoner by the Parliament, and by a Court of War condemned to die, but being kept in prison till the end of the war, was then set at liberty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retained his old affections, and more remembered the cruel usage he had received, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great friendship with a young gentleman, Mr. Hales, who lived in Kent, and was married to a lady of a noble birth and fortune, he being heir to one of the greatest fortunes of that country, but was to expect the inheritance from the favour of an old severe grandfather, who for the present kept the young couple from running into any excess; the mother of the lady being of as sour and strict a nature as the grandfather, and both of them so much of the Parliament party, that they were not willing any part of their estates should be hazarded for the King. At the house of this Mr. Hales, Mr. L'Estrange was, when, by the communication which that part of Kent always hath with the ships which lie in the Downs, the report first did arise that the fleet would presently declare for the King, and those seamen who came on shore talked as if the city of London would join with them. This drew many gentlemen of the country who wished well, to visit

visit the ships, and they returned more confirmed of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowship was a vice spread every where, and this young great heir, who had been always bred among his neighbours, affected that which they were best pleased with, and so his house was a rendezvous for those who delighted in that exercise, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the fleet for the King; and all men's mouths were full of the general hatred the whole kingdom had against the Parliament as well as the army. Mr. L'Estrange was a man of a good wit, and a fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterprising nature. He observed, by the good company that came to the house, that the affections of all that large and populous country were for the King. He begun to tell Mr. Hales, "that though his grandfather did in his heart
"with the King well, yet his carriage had been such
"in his conjunction with the Parliament, that he had
"more need of the King's favour than of his grand-
"father's to be heir to that great estate; and that cer-
"tainly nothing could be more acceptable to his grandfa-
"ther, or more glorious to him, than to be the instrument
"of both;" and therefore advised him "to put himself
"into the head of his own country, which would be
"willing to be led by him; that when the Scots were
"entered into the northern parts, and all the kingdom
"should be in arms, he might, with the body of his
"countrymen, march towards London; which would
"induce both the city and the Parliament to join with
"him, whereby he should have great share in the ho-
"nour of restoring the King."

The company that frequented the house thought the discourse very reasonable, and saw that the issue must be very honourable: the young lady of the house was full
of

of zeal for the King, and was willing her husband should be the instrument of his delivery: the young gentleman himself had not been enough conversant in the affairs of the world to apprehend the danger or hazard of the attempt, and so referred himself and the whole business to be governed and conducted by Mr. L'Estrange, whom they all believed by his discourse to be an able soldier. He writ some letters to particular gentlemen, who he was informed would receive them willingly, and signed warrants to the constables of hundreds with his own name, which had been never heard of in the country, requiring, "in his Majesty's name, all persons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to advise together, and to lay hold on such opportunities, as should be offered for relieving the King and delivering him out of prison." There was an incredible appearance of the country at the place appointed, where Mr. L'Estrange appeared with Mr. Hales, and those persons which had been used to their company. Mr. L'Estrange spoke to them in a style very much his own; and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spake like a man in authority, inveighed against "the tyranny of the army, which had subdued the Parliament, against their barbarous imprisonment of the King, and against a conspiracy they had to murder him." He added, "that the affections of that noble country were well known to his Majesty, and that he had therefore appointed the fleet that was in the Downs to join with them; and that he doubted not but they would together be too strong for his enemies, who were like to have enough to do to defend themselves in many other places; and that his Majesty was willing they should have a gentleman of their own country, well known to them, to be their General;" and
named

named Mr. Hales; who was present. There was not one man who so much as asked for any letter or commission, or other authority from the King; but all of them, very frankly and unanimously, declared "they would be ready to join, and march as their General Hales should direct;" and so another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and lifting and forming their regiments; and in the mean time Mr. L'Estrange set out such declarations and engagements, as he thought most like to prevail with the people, and required, "that they should be read in all churches;" which was done accordingly. The next appearance was greater than the former; and with the same forwardness, many coming armed both horse and foot, and shewing a marvellous alacrity to the engagement. Their General then gave out his commissions for several regiments, and a new day was appointed for their rendezvous, when all should come armed, and keep together in a body, until it should be fit to march to London.

It was known that the fleet was gone out of the Downs, but it was as well known that it had absolutely renounced the service of the Parliament, and rejected all their officers. It was easy to persuade the people, that they were gone upon some important enterprise, and would speedily return; and it was insinuated, "that it was gone to the Isle of Wight to release the King, who would return with it into Kent;" which made them hasten their preparations.

At the time when the King made the Earl of Northumberland Admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his commission, "that he should enjoy that office during the minority of the Duke of York;" and the Duke having made his escape at this time, when there was this commotion amongst the seamen, it was no sooner known

known that his Highness was in Holland, but the seamen talked aloud, "that they would go to their Admiral;" and the gentlemen of Kent stirring them up and inflaming them to that resolution, and the seamen again pressing the gentlemen to hasten their rising in arms, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves sooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an enterprise of that importance.

The Parliament was well informed of the distemper amongst the seamen, and had therefore forborne putting the half of the provisions aboard the ships, which, for the greatest part, lay ready in the Downs, wanting only half the victual they were to have for the summer service. But those officers which were on board, finding they had no authority, and that the seamen mocked and laughed at them, sent every day to inform the Parliament, what mutinous humour the whole fleet was in. Whereupon they sent Rainsborough and some other officers thither; presuming that the presence of the Admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a man of a rough imperious nature, as soon as he came on board his ship, begun to make a strict enquiry into the former disorders and mutinous behaviour, upon which all the men of his ship retired into their old fortress of one and all, and presently laid hold on him, and put him, and such other officers of the ship as they liked not, into the boat, and sent them on shore. Which was no sooner known to the rest of the ships, but they followed their example, and used their officers in the same manner. After they had for some days been feasted and caressed by the people of Kent, some of the gentlemen putting themselves on board to join with them, and in order to assist them towards providing such necessities

Rainsborough and some other officers put on shore by the seamen.

cessaries as were wanting, they went out of the Downs, and stood for Holland, that they might find their Admiral; and let fall their anchors before the Brill. What was done by the gentlemen of Kent on shore, and the success thereof, will be related hereafter.

The revolt-
ed ships
went over to
Holland.

This so very seasonable revolt of the fleet, in a conjuncture when so many advantages were expected, was looked upon as a sure omen of the deliverance of the King. And the report that the ships were before Calais, as if they had expected somebody there, which was true, for some time, was the reason that it was thought fit that the Prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being sent for by the Scots, and how to find himself with them) should make all possible haste to Calais. This was the cause of that his sudden motion, which was yet retarded for want of money, and all other things necessary for his journey. The Cardinal shewed no manner of favouring all these appearances of advantage to the King; he gave less countenance to Scotland, than he had ever done when it was in rebellion against the King; and, notwithstanding all his promises with reference to Ireland, the Marquis of Ormond remained still at Paris, without obtaining arms or money in any proportion, (both which had been promised so liberally),

The Mar-
quis of Or-
mond goes
out of
France into
Ireland.

and was, after all importunities, compelled to transport himself into Ireland (where he was so importunately called for) without any manner of supplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the Prince was so behoveful, the Cardinal utterly refused to furnish him with any money; all which discountenances were shortly after remembered to Cromwell, as high merit.

The Prince's remove was by every body thought so necessary, that the Lord Jermyn, as was pretended, found

found means to borrow so much money as was necessary for the journey; which the King paid long after with full interest. Dr. Goffe, a man well known in that time, as the chief agent and confident of my Lord Jermyn, was presently sent into Holland, to dispose the seamen to be willing to receive the Lord Jermyn to command the fleet. So solicitous that nobleman was to be in the head of any action that was like to prosper, how unfit soever he was for it; having neither industry, nor knowledge of any thing of the sea, and being less beloved by the seamen than any man that could be named. The Prince made what haste he could to Calais, attended by Prince Rupert, the Lord Hopton, and the Lord Colepepper, and some other gentlemen, besides his own domestics; and finding one of the English frigates before Calais, and understanding that the Duke of York was gone from the Hague to Helvoetsluys, and had put himself on board the fleet there, his Highness presently embarked, and made the more haste lest his brother should be in action before him, and was The Prince is received at the fleet. received at the fleet with all those acclamations and noises of joy, which that people are accustomed to; they having expressed as much some days before, at the arrival of the Duke of York.

As soon as it was known in Holland that the Prince of Wales was arrived, the Prince of Orange, with his wife the Princess Royal, came presently thither to entertain his Highness the best that place would permit, but especially to rejoice together, having not seen each other from the time they were children. The Prince's reception to the Prince's fleet. The Prince found the fleet in faction and disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sir John Berkeley's coming to the Hague to assume the ~~government~~ of the Duke of York, had not been acceptable to his Royal Highness;

Highness; who was persuaded by Colonel Barnfield, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the King to the Isle of Wight. The Colonel himself was so incensed with it, that he used all the skill and insinuation he had, to lessen his Highness's reverence to the Queen, and to dispute her commands. Then taking the opportunity of the fleet's being come to Helvoetsluys, he went thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful address to the disposing men to mutiny, and to work upon common men, which the fleet consisted of, there being no officers, for the most part, above the quality of a boatswain or master's mate, he persuaded them "to declare for the Duke of York, without any respect to the King or Prince; and when his Highness should be on board, that they should not meddle in the quarrel between the King and the Parliament, but entirely join with the Presbyterian party, and the city of London; which by this means would bring the Parliament to reason:" and he prepared his friends the seamen when the Duke should come to them, that they would except against Sir John Berkley, and cause him to be dismissed; and then he believed he should be able to govern both his Highness and the fleet.

At the same time Dr. Goffe, who was a dexterous man too, and could comply with all men in all the acts of good-fellowship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the seamen, and made them jealous of Barnfield's activity; and endeavoured to persuade them, "that they should all petition the Prince," (who, he knew, would be shortly with them), "that the Lord Jermyn might be made their Admiral; who would be able to supply them with money; and whatsoever else they wanted: that there was no hope of money but from France,"
"and

“ and that the Lord Jermyn had all the power and credit there, and might have what money he desired ;” and by these agitations, the infant loyalty of the seamen begun to be distracted.

At the same time the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who had always adhered to the Presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the Parliament, and secretly transported himself into Holland ; and was arrived at Rotterdam, when Bamfield returned from the fleet, and went to wait upon the Duke of York at the Hague. Bamfield delivered such a message from the fleet as he thought would hasten the Duke's journey thither ; and told him, “ the seamen made great enquiry after the Lord Willoughby, and much longed to have him with them ;” insinuating to the Duke, “ that he had much contributed to that good disposition in the seamen, and was privy to their revolt, and had promised speedily to come to them, and that it would be the most acceptable thing his Highness could do to carry him with him to the fleet, and make him his Vice-Admiral.” The Duke made all imaginable haste to Helvoetsluys, and immediately went on board the Admiral ; where he was received with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the Lord Willoughby his Vice-Admiral, and appointed some other officers in the several ships, and seemed very desirous to be out at sea. In the mean time Bamfield continued his activity ; and the Doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his patron to the height he proposed, did all he could to hinder the operation of Bamfield, and took all the ways he could that the Prince might be advertised of it, and thereupon hasten his own journey ; which did likewise contribute

to the haste his Highness made. He arrived at Helvoetsluys very seasonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the seamen, upon his Highness's appearance, returned again into their old cheerful humour; which the Prince knew would be best preserved by action; and therefore exceedingly desired to be at sea, where he was sure he must be superior to any force the Parliament could in a short time put out. But the fleet already wanted many provisions, of which beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and assistance of the Prince of Orange, was in a short time procured in a reasonable proportion; and then the Prince set sail first for Yarmouth Road, then for the Downs; having sent his brother, the Duke of York, with all his family to the Hague, to remain there.

The Prince comes into the Downs with the fleet.

Though the Duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the fleet, which he had been persuaded to look upon as his province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reason would not permit they should both be ventured at one time on board the fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage his own person, he submitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his sister. The Prince did not think fit to remove the Lord Willoughby (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the Presbyterian party) from the charge the Duke had given him; though he was not much known to the seamen. But Captain Batten coming at the same time when his Highness did to the fleet, and bringing the Constant Warwick, one of the best frigates the Parliament had built, with Jordan, and two or three seamen of good command, his Highness knighted him, and made him Rear-Admiral of the fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and

and acceptable thing to the seamen, than by putting the same man, who had commanded them so many years, over them again at this time; whose experience and government would supply the defects and want of skill of the Vice-Admiral, who was very willing to be advised by him. But the Prince shortly after found he was mistaken in that expedient, and that the seamen (who desired to serve the King upon the clear principles of obedience and loyalty) did not in any degree affect Batten, because he had failed in both, and was now of a party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the Prince came prepared and disposed from the Queen, to depend wholly upon the Presbyterian party, which, besides the power of the Scottish army, which was every day expected to invade England, was thought to be possessed of all the strength of the city of London; and the Lord Colepepper, and Mr. Long, the Prince's Secretary, were trusted by the Queen to keep the Prince steady and fast to that dependence; and his Highness was enjoined to be entirely advised by them; though all the other lords about him were of another mind, and the Prince himself not inclined that way. Dr. Steward, the Dean of the King's chapel, whom his Majesty had recommended to his son to instruct him in all matters relating to the Church, and Dr. Earles, and the rest of his Chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent those insinuations. But, by those two, the benefit of this fleet was principally considered, as a happy means to put the Prince on shore, that he might be in the head of the Scottish army; and no doubt if that army had been then entered into England, as it was very shortly after, the Prince would have been directed, with the fleet, "to have fol-

and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their northern friends, and therefore consulting with the rest, and finding the Earl of Norwich, who had been some months in England under a pass from the Parliament, (upon pretence of making his composition, from which he had never been excluded), willing to engage himself in the conduct of those in Kent, where he was well known and beloved, his affection and zeal for the King's service being not to be doubted, they resolved that he should go thither; and there being many blank commissions ready to be disposed as the service should require, they filled one with his name, by which the command of all Kent was committed to him, "with power to lead them any whither as the good of the King's service should make requisite." And with this commission he made haste into Kent, and found at Maidstone a better body of horse and foot armed than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any army that was like to be brought against them. They all received him with wonderful acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr. Hales, upon the news of another General to be sent thither, and upon the storms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his grandfather, on the one side, and on his wife by her mother on the other side, and upon the conscience that he was not equal to the charge, though his affection was not in the least declined, found means to transport himself, and wife, together with his friend Mr. L'Estrange, who had lost his credit with the people, into Holland; resolving, as soon as he had put his wife out of the reach of her mother, to return himself, and to venture his person in the service which he could not conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

The

The importunities from Scotland with the Presbyterians their correspondents, the fame of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's being well received at Edinburgh, and that many English officers and soldiers daily flocked thither, but especially the promises from Paris of supplies of arms, ammunition, and money, as soon as they could expect it, set all the other wheels going in England which had been preparing all the winter. There was in South Wales Colonel Laughorn, Colonel Powell, and Colonel Poyer, who commanded those parts under the Parliament, which they had served from the beginning: the first of them a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune in land in those counties, who had been bred a page under the Earl of Essex, when he had a command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependance upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was first engaged in the rebellion, as many other gentlemen had been, without wishing ill to the King: the second was a gentleman too, but a soldier of fortune: the third, had from a trade raised himself in the war to the reputation of a very diligent and stout officer, and was at this time trusted by the Parliament with the government of the town and castle of Pembroke. These three communicated their discontents to each other, and represented themselves ill requited by the Parliament for what they had done, and that other men, such as Cromwell and Mitton, were preferred before them. They therefore took the opportunity of the Scots coming to the King upon the Presbyterian side. Laughorn, who was not infected with the same notions, freaks, and doubted not to return to the King, it should be time, to soberly return to the King, till he first sent a confident

of what he had determined, and of what their wants consisted, which if not relieved, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive orders for the time of their declaring, and assurance that they should in time receive those supplies they stood in need of. And the Lord Jermyn sent him a promise under his hand, "that he should not fail of receiving all the things he had desired, before he could be pressed by the enemy;" and therefore conjured him, and his friends, "forthwith to declare for the King; which he assured them would be of singular benefit and advantage to his Majesty's service; since, upon the first notice of their having declared, the Scottish army would be ready to march into England." Hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the field for want of ammunition and money, and when Pembroke was not supplied with provisions for above two months; and were never thought of after.

The Lord Byron had been sent from Paris, upon the importunities from Scotland, to get as many to declare in England in several places, as might distract the army, and keep it from an entire engagement against them; to dispose his old friends about Chester and North Wales to appear as soon as might be: and he presently, with the help of Colonel Robinson, possessed himself of the island of Anglesey, and disposed all North Wales to be ready to declare as soon as the Scots should enter the kingdom. But that which was of most importance, and seemed already to have brought the war even into the heart of England, was that some gentlemen, who had formerly served the King in the garrison of Newark, and in the northern army, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into Scotland, and upon orders received

ceived from him since, when he believed the Scots would be in a short time ready to begin their march) surpris'd the strong castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, (which had a garrison in it for the Parliament), and grew presently so numerous, by the resort of officers and soldiers from the adjacent counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts, and made the communication between London and York insecure, except it was with strong troops. Upon which argument of the surpris'e of Pontefract, we shall enlarge hereafter, before we speak of the tragic conclusion of this enterprize. All affairs were in this motion in England, before there was any appearance of an army in Scotland, which they had promis'd should be ready to march by the beginning of May.

Indeed as to the raising an army in Scotland, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should command, and be General of this army, was the matter upon which the success of all they propos'd would depend; and if they could not procure Duke Hamilton to be made choice of for that service, they would promise themselves no good issue of the undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old General Lesley, who had been hitherto in the head of their army in all their prosperous successes; but he was in the confidence of Argyle, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the man was grown old, and appeared, in the actions of the last expedition into England, very unequal to the command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the command, upon pretence of his age and infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture
his

his honour against the English, except assisted by English, which had been his good fortune in all the actions of moment he had performed in this war; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always received some affront. When by this means there was a new General to be named, Duke Hamilton was proposed, as a fit man to be employed to redeem the honour of the nation. He had formerly discharged the office of General under the King of Sweden, where Lesley, that had now declined the employment, was Major General under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of war.

Whilst this was depending, Argyle took notice of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's and Sir Philip Musgrave's being in the town, and of some discourses which they had used, or some other English officers in their company, and desired, "that, if they were to have any command
" in the army, they might presently take the Covenant;
" and that there might be a general declaration, that
" there should be neither officer nor soldier received
" into their army, before he had first taken the Covenant: and that, after they were entered into the kingdom of England, they should make no conjunction
" with any forces, or persons, who had not done, or
" should refuse to do the same." This proposal found no opposition; they who were most forward to raise the army for the delivery of the King, being as violent as any to advance that declaration. And though Duke Hamilton and his brother of Lanrick did as well disapprove it in their own judgments, as they did foresee, out of the long experience they had of England, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the courage in any degree to speak against it; and the Chancellor of Scotland and the Earl of Lautherdale were

were as passionate for the advancement of it, as Argyle himself; and seemed to think that those two gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

It can hardly be believed, that, after so long knowledge of England, and their observation of whom the King's party did consist, after their so often conferences with the King without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to preserve himself in Newcastle from being delivered up to the Parliament, or in their last agitation with him, when he yielded to so many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to consent to or promise, "that any man should be compelled to take the Covenant;" that they should still adhere to that fatal combination against the Church, which they could never hope to bring to pass, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the King under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into their hands, as he was under the domination of the Parliament and army: yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the King's party, and designed no less to oppress them than the Independents and Anabaptists; and upon the news of the revolt of the fleet from the Parliament to the King, the insurrection in Kent, and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the kingdom for the King, they slackened their preparations, that they might defer their march, to the end that all that strength might be oppressed and reduced, that so they might be absolute masters after they had prevailed over the army. And at last, when they could defer their march no longer, upon the importunate pressure of their friends in London, they sent the Earl of Lautherdale with those insolent instructions, which will be mentioned anon, and positively required the Prince immediately
to

to repair to them ; declaring, “ that if his person should “ not be forthwith in their army, they would return “ again into Scotland without making any attempt ; ” and the knowing this resolution, was the reason that the Queen was so positive in her instructions, notwithstanding the appearance of any other advantage to the King in England.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave no sooner heard of this declaration, than they went to those lords, and expostulated very sharply with them, for “ having broken their faiths, and betrayed them “ into their country ; where they were looked upon as “ enemies.” They were answered, “ that they must “ give over their design to redeem the King, or yield to “ this determination, which their Parliament was so “ firm and united in ; and would never depart from.” And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the Covenant ; some of them desiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to satisfy them, that the Covenant did not include those things in it, which they thought it did. But when they saw those gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they resolved presently to leave the country ; and told them, “ they “ would undeceive those honest people in England, “ who were too much inclined to trust them ; and that “ they should find that they had a harder work in hand “ than they imagined ; ” the Scottish lords knew well enough of what importance their presence was to be to them, for their very entrance into England ; and thereupon desired them, “ that they would have a little “ patience, and again absent themselves from Edinburgh, till the heat of this dispute was over, and till “ the army should be ready to march ; ” and Duke Hamilton,

milton, who had a marvellous insinuation to get himself believed, assured them in confidence, "that as soon as he should find himself in the head of his army, and upon their march, there should be no more talk of covenants, but that all the King's friends should be welcome, and without distinction." So they left Edinburgh again, and went to their old quarters; where they had not stayed long, before the Duke sent for them to come to him in private; and, after a very cheerful reception, he told them, "he was now ready; and that their friends in England called so importunately for them, that he was resolved to march in very few days; which he thought necessary to communicate to them, not only for the friendship he had for them; which would always keep him without reserve towards them; but because he must depend upon them two to surprise the towns of Berwick and Carlisle, against the time he should be able to march thither; for he intended to march between those two places."

The work was not hard to be performed by them, they having, from their first entrance into Scotland, adjusted with their friends who inhabited near those places, to be ready for that enterprize when they should be called upon; which they then believed would have been much sooner; so that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded commissions from the Duke for the doing thereof; which he excused himself for not giving, under pretence of "the secrecy that was necessary; in respect whereof he would not trust his own Secretary; and likewise, as a thing unnecessary for the work; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the King, by which they could bring it to
"pass,

“ pass, and not his commission ; for which those towns
 “ would have no reverence.” Besides, he told them,
 “ that the Marquis of Argyle had still protested against
 “ their beginning the war by any act of hostility against
 “ the English, in forcing any of the towns ; which was
 “ not necessary in order to the King’s deliverance ; but
 “ that an army might march to the place where the
 “ King was, to the end that those messengers who were
 “ sent by the State to speak with the King, might have
 “ liberty to speak with his Majesty ; which was a right
 “ of the kingdom, and the demanding it could be
 “ no breach of the pacification between the two king-
 “ doms.”

This argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough
 to sway the Duke. But they foresaw two other reasons,
 which did prevail with him not to give those commis-
 sions they desired, which otherwise might have been
 given with the same secrecy that the business was to be
 acted with ; the one, the order against giving any com-
 mission to any man before he had taken the Covenant :
 and how much authority soever the Duke might take
 upon him to dispense with that order after he should be
 in England ; it might not be convenient that he should
 assume it whilst he remained yet at Edinburgh : the
 other was, that, when they had done it without his
 commission, he might, upon his march, or as soon as
 he came thither, dispossess them of the government,
 and put Scotchmen into their places ; the last of which
 he did not dissemble to them ; but confessed, “ that,
 “ though the Council of Scotland would not attempt
 “ the taking of those towns, yet when they should be
 “ taken, they would expect the government thereof
 “ should be in their hands, and depend upon them,
 “ without which they should not be able to send him
 “ those

“ those continual supplies which he expected from them.” And there being then a recruit of five or six thousand, which Sir George Monroe had near raised in the North, and from Ireland, who were to begin their march after him, as soon as he should be out of Scotland, the two gentlemen had no purpose of remaining in those governments, well knowing that their presence would be of importance to the army, at least whilst they stayed in the northern counties; yet they knew well, it was for the service that those towns should remain in the hands of the English, without which few of the gentlemen of those parts would declare themselves, how well affected soever they were; which when they had offered to the Duke, they left it to him, and accepted the employment he pressed them to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpose.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale had several officers, and soldiers, laid privately on the Scottish side to wait his commands, and more on the English; there being two or three good families within two or three miles of Berwick, who were well affected and ready to appear when they should be required; in expectation whereof they had harboured many men. Some of them Sir Marmaduke appointed to meet him, on the Scottish side, at a place about a mile distant from Berwick, the night before he intended the surprize, and the rest to be in the town by the rising of the sun; some about the market place, and some upon the bridge, by which he must enter. The next morning, being market day, when great droves of little horses, laden with sacks of corn, always resorted to the town, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about a hundred horse, and some few foot, which walked with the market people, presently after sun rising, was upon the bridge, before there was any apprehension;

Sir M.
Langdale
surprises
Berwick,
and Sir P.
Musgrave
Carlisle
soon after.

hension; and finding his friends there whom he expected, he caused the bridge presently to be drawn up, and guarded by his foot, and sent others to the other parts. Himself with most of his troops went into the market place, where he found his country friends ready to do all he would command. There was so general a consternation seized upon the whole town, there being no other garrison but town's-men, that after they had seized upon the Mayor, who was the Governor, all things were in a short time so quiet, that they opened their ports again, that the market might not be interrupted. Sir Philip Musgrave, with as little opposition, possessed himself of Carlisle; where he had a greater interest; and the people were generally better affected to the King, and more disinclined to the Scots than those of Berwick used to be; and they both hastened advertisement to the Duke of what they had done.

It will be much wondered at, that after Cromwell plainly foresaw they should have a war with Scotland, and had constant intelligence from thence of the advances they made, he did not take care to put garrisons into those two important places, the very strength of which could for some time have withstood all the power which Scotland could have brought against them. But the same reason which had been current at Edinburgh to this very time, had prevailed at Westminster. It was specially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two kingdoms, when the Parliaments of both kingdoms combined against the King, "that there should be no more garrisons kept on either side in Berwick or Carlisle;" where they were then disbanded, and some of their fortifications slighted; which could easily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an enemy for some time. And the Parliament would not now permit any men to be sent thither,

ther, that the Scots might not pretend that the war was begun by them; but left Berwick to the government of the mayor and the citizens; who could have defended themselves against the Scots if they had expected them. But the truth is, Cromwell had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of that nation, that he never cared what advantage ground they had upon any field, or what place they ever possessed.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave were no sooner possessed of Berwick and Carlisle, than all the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly served the King, resorted and flocked to them well armed, appointed, and provided for the war; so that they had not only very sufficient garrisons to keep those places, but troops enough of horse to free the adjacent counties from those forces, and committees, and other persons, who were either publicly engaged in, or well known privately to wish well to the Parliament. It was upon the 28th of April that Sir Marmaduke Langdale possessed himself of Berwick; and soon after Sir Philip Musgrave surprised Carlisle, about eight of the clock at night, many gentlemen of the neighbours being in and about the town, expecting his arrival; so that the citizens were in confusion, and made little resistance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to Duke Hamilton, that they would deliver up the towns to him when he should require them; he having assured them, "that the King had promised, under his hand, "that those two towns should be delivered into the possession of the Scots;" which it must needs be supposed that they should first take from the Parliament, in whose possession they were both when the King signed the engagement at Carisbrook castle. And the Duke had not only refused to give them any men, or other assistance

assistance towards the taking them, but, as hath been said, would not grant them his commission to perform it; pretending, "that he durst not do it, because they were bound not to begin the war:" only he, and the other lords of his fraternity, promised "to send five hundred muskets, and ten barrels of powder to each garrison; and that their whole army should march into England within twenty days; and that, if they were sooner in distress, they should be sure to be relieved."

But after he heard that both places were possessed by them, he deferred not to send a governor and garrison to receive Berwick; to whom Sir Marmaduke Langdale delivered it according to his promise; and was required "to march with all the English to the parts adjacent to Carlisle, and there to increase his troops to what number he could, with what expedition was possible;" which he performed so effectually, that, in very few days, he had a rendezvous upon a heath within five miles of Carlisle, where he mustered above three thousand foot well armed, and seven hundred horse not so well armed; all which were raised in Cumberland and Westmoreland, over and above the garrison of Carlisle; which yet remained under Sir Philip Musgrave; and, within two days, five hundred horse, very well appointed, came out of Yorkshire, the bishopric of Durham, and the neighbour parts; so that Sir Marmaduke Langdale resolved presently to march into Lancashire, to reduce those who were for the Parliament there; which he could easily have done, the Lord Byron being ready upon the borders of Cheshire to have joined with him. But this quick advance and progress towards an army, was not well looked upon at Edinburgh; and an express was dispatched with positive orders to Sir Marmaduke Langdale "not to engage or fight with the
" enemy,

“ enemy, upon what advantage soever, until the Scottish army should come up.” And wherever that express should overtake Sir Marmaduke, he was immediately to retire with his forces near Carlisle; which he obeyed as soon as he received the order, and when he might have marched against Lambert; who was sent before with a less strength than Sir Marmaduke commanded, and which in all probability would have been defeated.

But, as if this had not been discouragement enough, within one or two days after that express, letters were sent from the Council in Scotland, by which Sir Marmaduke Langdale was very severely reprehended, “ for receiving Papists into his army, and not owning the Covenant in the declarations which he had published;” and told, “ that he should receive no assistance from them, except the Covenant was embraced by all his army.” This struck at the root of all their hopes; and was so contrary to all the engagements they had received from the Scottish lords, both by words and letters, “ that they should never be troubled with any such motions, after they were once upon English ground; and that then they should proceed upon those grounds as were like to bring in most men to their assistance;” that Sir Marmaduke prevailed with Sir Philip Musgrave to make a journey forthwith to Edinburgh, to expostulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm resolution to the lords there.

Sir Philip Musgrave, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant, and were willing to join with them, carried a list with him of the names of many officers in their troops who had been compelled to take the Covenant before they could be admitted to composition, or procure the sequestra-

tions to be taken from their estates, and of some others who had taken it for quietness sake in the places where they lived; with which the Scots were in some degree mitigated, but seemed to retain still their rigour, that it should be submitted to by the whole army.

Lambert
marches a-
gainst them.

In the mean time Lambert, having gotten a strong body of horse and foot, advanced upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale; who, being enjoined not to fight, was forced to retire to Carlisle, and suffer himself to be, upon the matter, blocked up on one side, whilst he sent letter upon letter to the Duke "to hasten his march, or to send some troops to his assistance, and liberty to fight the enemy."

The Earl of
Norwich at
Maidstone
with the
Kentish
forces.

The Earl of Norwich had found the assembly at Maidstone very numerous, but likewise very disorderly, and without government, nor easy to be reduced under any command. They had been long enough together to enter into jealousies of one another, and from thence into factions, and were of several opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire submission and obedience to the Earl of Norwich as their General, yet no man forbore to deliver his opinion of things and persons; nor to enquire by what means they had first been drawn together; which implied that many men wished they had been to begin again. The Earl was a man fitter to have drawn such a body together by his frolic and pleasant humour, which reconciled people of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any enterprise. He had always lived in the Court in such a station of business as raised him very few enemies; and his pleasant and jovial nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many friends, at least made many delight in his company. So that by the great favour he had with
the

the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he stood in with any body else, he was very like, if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes, to have grown master of a very fair fortune; which was all that he proposed to himself. But he had no experience or knowledge of the war, nor knew how to exercise the office he had taken upon him of General, but was very willing to please every man, and comply with every body's humour; which was quickly discovered; and so men withdrew the reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indisposition increased, when they heard that Fairfax himself was appointed to march towards them. They who best understood the affair, and how to apply the strength they had to the best advantage, advised, "that they might retire beyond Rochester, and by breaking down the bridge there, and fortifying another pass or two, which was easy to be done, they might keep the enemy from entering into the east of Kent" (which was the largest and best part of that rich and populous county) "longer than they would be able to continue the attempt, for fear of being inclosed by an enemy at their back, if the city of London, or those of Essex, who were most spoken of, had a mind to declare for the King; and by this means they might be sure of a correspondence with the fleet;" of the return whereof in a short time they were most confident; and the more, because some gentlemen of their own body were on board the fleet in some authority, who, they knew, would hasten their return all they could.

Many were the more persuaded that the fleet was gone to the Isle of Wight for the rescue of the King, because those gentlemen were gone in it. And without

doubt that advice was the most reasonable, and if it had been pursued might have kept the enemy at a bay for some time. But other men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe "that Fairfax could have leisure to look after them; they were confident that the Parliament had so many enemies to look after, those in Wales growing strong, and having beaten the party that had been sent against them; and the officers in the North, who had seized upon Pontefract castle in Yorkshire, and had drawn in a strong garrison from the parts adjacent, had a body of horse, that infested all those parts; and the Scots were upon their march for England; and therefore they concluded that Fairfax could not be at leisure to visit them: the retiring would be an argument of fear, which would dishearten their friends at London, and all those of that part of Kent, which must be deserted upon their retreat, would desert them, as soon as that resolution should be known;" and therefore they desired, "that they might all march towards Blackheath; which would raise the spirits of their friends, and many would resort every day to them out of London and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well affected."

The Kentish army marches towards Blackheath.

The noise for this was the greater, and the Earl of Norwich himself was thereby swayed to be of that opinion; and so they resolved to advance, and a short day was appointed for a general rendezvous upon Blackheath; and orders were sent out accordingly.

The disturbance in so many places made the resolution of the General now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, "that Fairfax himself was not willing to march against the Scots;" which was not now counsellable for him to do. Cromwell was very willing

willing to take that province to himself, and had always so great a contempt of the Scots, that he was willing to march with a much lesser number than he well knew the Scottish army to consist of; and being informed which way the Scots resolved to enter the kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, as soon as they should be entered, with those troops which he had made choice of, having first suppressed the risings in South Wales by taking of Pembroke castle, and making prisoners therein Laughorn, Powel, and Poyer, the heads of that insurrection, and not troubling himself with Pontefract castle, which he thought would not be of great consequence, if the Scots were subdued.

Fairfax, with a numerous part of the army, remained in and about London to suppress the insurrection in Kent, and watch any other which should fall out in the city or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehension than of all the power of Scotland. And so when the Parliament was advertised by their troops which were first sent, that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the Earl of Norwich was declared General of the Kentish troops, and was marching in the head of them towards Blackheath, Fairfax drew all his army together, and his cannon, and marched over London-bridge to meet the men of Kent at Blackheath, and to stop their march to London. The Earl was now advanced so far, and Fairfax advanced too fast to put the former counsel in practice, of breaking down the bridges, and keeping the passes; and they who had opposed that counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The countrymen were weary of being all night in the field, though it was the warmest season of the year, and many withdrew themselves

themselves every day ; so that they who remained had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that marched towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore, as Fairfax advanced, the Kentish forces drew back ; made several stands ; but, being hard pressed, they divided, some retiring to Rochester, others to Maidstone. Those at Maidstone had a sharp encounter with the General's whole strength, and fought very bravely, but were at last defeated. In the mean time the Earl of Norwich, and divers other officers who were with the party at Rochester, quitting that place, marched back towards London, in hope still of the city's joining with them. But that failing, and apprehending Fairfax would be soon in their rear, the Earl and those who remained, and designed to run the utmost hazard, resolved to pass themselves and their horses by such boats as they had ready about Greenwich, and down the river, over into Essex, where they knew they had many friends, and where Fairfax and his army could not visit them in some days. So they made a shift to transport themselves to the number of near a thousand men, horse and foot ; whereof many were officers and soldiers who had served the King, and young gentlemen grown up in loyal families, who had been too young to appear before.

The Earl of Norwich, and some forces, transport themselves into Essex, and fix in Colchester.

They found many persons in Essex ready to join with them, who came sooner together than they intended, upon the alarm of Kent ; and who had purposed to have passed over into Kent to have joined with and assisted those who had so frankly appeared for the King, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave Lord Capel,

Capel, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, all excellent officers. There was Sir Bernard Gascoign, and many other gentlemen, and officers of name, who had drawn together many soldiers. To these joined Colonel Farr; who had served the Parliament, and was a known creature and confident of the Earl of Warwick's, and had at that time the command of Languard Point, a fort of importance upon the sea; so that when they were all come together, with those who came from Kent, they made a body of above three thousand horse and foot, with officers enough to have formed and commanded a very good army.

They well knew Fairfax would quickly visit them, and therefore they chose to post themselves in Colchester, a great and populous town, which though unfortified, they cast up such works before the avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an assault; and resolved to expect a conjunction with other of their friends; and were in great hopes that the Scottish army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be distressed.

They had scarce put themselves and the town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before Fairfax came upon them; who made no stay in Kent, after he heard what was become of the Earl of Norwich and his friends; but left two or three troops of horse to settle that county, with the assistance of their committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now victorious, knew well enough how to deal with those who had revolted from them. When he came first before Colchester, and saw it without any fortifications, he thought presently to have entered the town with his army; but he found so rude resistance, that

Fairfax be-
sieges them.

that by the advice of Ireton, who was left by Cromwell to watch the General as well as the army, he resolved to encompass it with his troops, and without hazarding the loss of men to block them up, till famine should reduce them; and disposed his army accordingly; which quickly stopped up all passages by which either men or provisions should get into the town; though by many brave sallies from within, their quarters were often beaten up, and many valiant men were lost on both sides.

Factions in
the Prince's
fleet.

The fleet, after it had, with all imaginable cheerfulness, submitted to the command of the Prince, was not so active as it was expected it should be; and was very much the worse for the factions and divisions which were amongst those who attended upon the Prince; who, according to their several humours, endeavoured to work upon the seamen; a people capable of any impression, but not very retentive of it. Prince Rupert, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, upon many old contests in the late war, love the Lord Colepepper, who was not of a temper that cared to court him: and there was one, who had the greatest influence on Prince Rupert, Herbert the Attorney General, that of all men living was most disposed to make discord and disagreement between men; all his faculties being resolved into a spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was proposed. He having no title or pretence to interpose in councils, and yet there being no secret in the debates there, found it easy to infuse into Prince Rupert, who totally resigned himself to his advice, such arguments as might disturb any resolution: and there were so many who were angry that they were not admitted into the Council, as the Lords Piercy, Wilmot, and Wentworth, that it was no hard matter to get any thing

thing disliked that was resolved there. They had all that admission and countenance from the Prince, that they had as much confidence to speak to and before him, as any where else. Prince Rupert had a great mind that somewhat should be attempted upon the coast, which might have caused some sea-towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for the King; which seemed not a design that would bear a reasonable discourse. But action was a very grateful word to the seamen, and they who opposed any thing that tended toward it, were looked upon with great jealousy and prejudice. But the Prince was obliged, as hath been said, by his instructions at Paris, not to engage himself in any thing that might divert him from being ready at the minute when the Scots should call for his presence; and they expected the first intimation of that from London; from whence they had the assurance already, that Duke Hamilton was entered into the kingdom with an army of above thirty thousand men; which was then generally thought true, though they fell far short of the number.

When the Prince came with the fleet into the sea from Helvoetsluys, he met a ship of London bound for Rotterdam, and laden with cloth by the company of Merchant Adventurers, who did not think that the fleet could have been so soon ready for sea. This ship was taken, and, the decks being sealed up, was kept under guard with the fleet; which, at their entrance into the river of Thames, took many other ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East India ship richly laden, and the more welcome because the ship itself was a very strong ship, and would make an excellent man of war, and the captain thereof was a

It enters the river of Thames; takes several ships.

seaman

seaman of courage and experience, and was very well inclined to serve the King: and, without doubt, if all the ships which were then taken, had been sent into some secure ports, the value of the goods would have mounted to so great a sum, as might have counter-vailed a very great expence at sea and land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure port, where that treasure might have been deposited, so it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his Royal Highness's proceedings. The city of London was to be courted by all the artifices imaginable, and that was so alarmed by the fleet's being in the river, and by the seizure of so many of their ships, especially the cloth ship, that there was a general consternation amongst the people: and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen applied themselves to the Parliament, for leave to send down some agents to the fleet to procure a release of that ship; and if that could not be brought to pass, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing such a commerce and correspondence between the fleet and the city, in such a conjuncture of jealousy, that most men believed the Parliament would never have hearkened to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another sort of treasure inclosed in that ship, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of those who granted that indulgence to the city, had more money on board that vessel than the cloth was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no less than forty thousand pounds.

Commis-
sioners sent
to the Prince
from the
city with a
petition.

Upon this liberty granted by the Parliament, a committee was sent from the city with a petition to the Prince of Wales, "that he would restore the ship which
" belonged

“ belonged to his father's good subjects.” With these men came letters from some of those who were well known to be very solicitous at that time for the advancement of the King's service, and privy to the treaty with the Scots, and whatever was intended by the Earl of Holland: the Countess of Carlisle, who was trusted by all that people, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen, trusted Mr. Lowe, who was employed by the city in this negociation, to say many things to the Prince of the good inclinations of the city, and how necessary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other letters and testimonies to give him credit, as a man trusted by all who intended to serve the King, who had with wonderful address got him to be one of those employed by the city, that he might, under that security, give such animadversions to the Prince, and to his Council, as was necessary. He was a man intelligent enough of the spirit and humour of the city, and very conversant with the nobility and gentry about the town; and though he was trusted by the Presbyterian party, as a man entirely addicted to them, he took pains to insinuate himself into many of the King's party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a man of so voluble a tongue, and so everlasting a talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober man could be imposed upon by him.

Upon the receipt of this petition, the Prince writ a long letter to the city, and inclosed in it a declaration, for the publishing of both which in the print care was taken, the substance of which was, “ the great affection “ he bore to the city, and the prosperity thereof;” the whole being in such a style, as might best please the Presbyterians, with less care than should have been used

to

to preserve the zeal of the King's party; and desiring, "that they would join with him for the delivery of the King his father out of prison, and to make a good understanding between his Majesty and the Parliament, which his Highness desired with all imaginable concernment." The citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their ship released without a good sum of money, which the Prince told them "was absolutely necessary for the payment of the seamen, and he would receive it as a loan from them, and repay it when a peace should be made." So some of them returned to London, and the rest remained with the fleet, coming and going for a month, and driving many bargains for other ships. By this means the Prince received advertisement of the Scots continuing their march, and that those who were inclosed in Colchester were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be sure to receive in due time, the Earl of Holland being ready to declare as soon as their pressures should require it. After near a month's negotiation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the Prince, and thereupon that cloth ship was delivered to the merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been said, that there was somewhat else besides cloth in the body of it; for which there was not any search suffered to be made.

Whilst the Prince lay in the Downs, there was an enterprise necessary to be made on shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the fleet from the Parliament, and before it set sail for Holland, it had taken one or two of those blockhouses, or castles, which are nearest the Downs; and had left some seamen in them, with sufficient provisions to defend themselves till the fleet should return. The Prince found these

these blockhouses besieged, and received intelligence out of them, that their provisions were so near spent, that they could not hold out above so many days. The strength that lay before them consisted more in horse than foot; and at high tide the boats might go so near, that there seemed little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the besiegers to rise: and the seamen, having nothing else to do, offered to undertake the service for the redemption of their fellows; many land officers being likewise on board, and some foot soldiers, the Prince sent some of those with the seamen to undertake the business; but it had no good issue; the tide was too far spent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their landing and the castle than they imagined, and the horse charged them with such resolution, that many of the men were killed, and more taken prisoners, and the rest forced to their boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the blockhouses at last came into the hands of the enemy; which though of little inconvenience to the Prince, those forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there was some disreputation in it; and it discredited the designs, which had not yet appeared very prosperous in any place; and any access of good fortune raised the spirits of the Parliament's party, who easily were persuaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under some mortification.

By this time another fleet was prepared by the Par-
liament of more and better ships than had revolted, and the command thereof given to the Earl of Warwick; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the tide was come within sight of the Prince; and there dropped anchor. So that both
The Parliament prepares a fleet against the revolted fleet, under command of the Earl of Warwick.
 fleets

fleets lay within that distance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a battle; to which there seemed all alacrity in the Prince's fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the intelligence that the other was not well manned, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the King; which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from imagination or intelligence, it seemed to have no foundation in truth.

The Earl of Warwick and his fleet appeared resolute and prepared enough for an engagement: yet it was well known, that the Earl was privy to the engagement of his brother the Earl of Holland, and had promised to join with him. And therefore it was thought fit, The Prince writes to the Earl of Warwick. His answer. that the Prince should write to the Earl to summon, or invite him to return to his allegiance. This was sent by Harry Seymour, who quickly returned with an answer from the Earl, which, in terms of duty enough, humbly besought his Highness "to put himself into the hands of the Parliament; and that the fleet with him might submit to their obedience; upon which they should be pardoned for their revolt."

Though this might well have satisfied concerning the Earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevailed with that Mr. Crofts might give the Earl a visit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having married his aunt, might be able to get a private audience of the Earl; which Seymour endeavoured, but could not obtain. But Crofts returned as the other did; and now there wanted only a wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the Prince, he resolved to attack them. All anchors were weighed, and preparations made to advance to the assault, the whole fleet being under sail towards the other; which seemed equally resolved and disposed, though

though the wind, which drove the Prince upon them, compelled them a little to retire, where the river was somewhat narrower. In an instant the wind ceased, and there was a calm ; so that the Prince could not advance ; and some doubts arose, upon the narrowing of the river, as if some of his ships might want water in the engagement. In this deliberation the wind rose again, but from another quarter, which was directly in the Prince's face ; and would not suffer him to move towards the enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the river. Hereupon were new consultations ; great want of provisions was discovered to be in the fleet, inasmuch as that they should not be able to stay at sea above ten days, and many ships would want sooner, and therefore since the Earl of Warwick, as the wind stood, could not be compelled to fight, and they were in danger to be distressed for provisions, it was thought most counsellable to put to sea ; where they could more commodiously engage in a battle, if the Earl of Warwick would advance ; and if he did not, there was great reason to hope, that the Prince might meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth to join with the Earl, and which might easily be surpris'd or taken by the Prince's fleet ; which was much superior to them in strength.

At this time the Earl of Lautherdale arrived in a ship from Scotland ; and having left Duke Hamilton upon his march towards Berwick, he was sent to demand the performance of the treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair to that army. This confirmed the Prince in the purpose of putting out to sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry the fleet first into Holland, before it could transport him into the northern parts. So the whole fleet went to sea, and continued their course

The Prince went to sea towards Holland, after having attempted to fight the Earl of Warwick.

course for Holland, with hope still to meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth. And meet with them they did in the night; which the Prince knew not till the morning; when one put the fault upon another; and it was now necessary to make all possible haste to Holland; since by the conjunction with these ships, besides all other advantages, the Earl of

✓ The Earl of Warwick follows him towards Holland.

Warwick was now become superior in the number, as well as the strength and goodness of his ships; which appeared by his coming before Helvoetsluys, within few days after the Prince's arrival there.

• Duke Hamilton enters England about the middle of July.

It was near the middle of July, when Duke Hamilton entered into England with his army, when he came to Carlisle, and immediately took that government from Sir Philip Musgrave, and drew out all the English garrison, and put Scots in their place. And

The Duke's march.

after some few days stay there, the English and Scottish forces met at a rendezvous, in the way to that part of Cumberland where Lambert then quartered: and if they had continued their march, as they ought to have done, it is very probable they had broken that body of Lambert's. But the Duke would quarter that night two miles short; and Lambert, in the same night, marched from thence in great disorder and confusion to the edge of Yorkshire. The Duke rested many days, that all his forces might come up, which came slowly out of Scotland. As soon as they were come up, he marched to Kendal; where he rested again several days; the reason whereof nobody could imagine. It was suspected it was that those forces which were up in several parts of the kingdom, for the King, might undergo some defeat, that they might not be so united, as to control or obstruct the Presbyterian design. For after that army was entered into England, it moved, as hath been said, by such

such very slow marches, and so negligently, and with so little apprehension of an enemy, and it was quartered at so great a distance, that the head quarter was very often twenty miles distant from some part of the army; the Duke himself performing no part of the office of a General, but taking his ease, and being wholly governed by the Lieutenant General of the army, and two or three other officers.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale marched, with his body of English, consisting of near four thousand foot, and seven or eight hundred horse, always a day before the army; by which they intended to have timely advertisement of the enemy's motion, and likewise meant that he should bear the first brunt of them, desiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of August, when Sir Marmaduke Langdale advertised the Duke, by an express, "that he had received unquestionable intelligence that Cromwell was within two or three days march, and resolved to engage his army as soon as possibly he could, and that he would not be diverted from it, by the people's gathering together at any distance from him, in what posture soever;" and therefore desired his Grace, "that he would keep his army close together; for they could not be far asunder with any security;" and declared, "that he himself would rest, and wait the advance of the enemy, and then retire back as he should find it necessary."

The Duke, notwithstanding this advertisement, reformed not the order of his march in any degree, but was persuaded, "that the enemy could not be so near; and that, if Cromwell was advanced to such a distance, it was only with such a party, as he would not presume to engage with their whole army." In this

Sir M.
Langdale
gives him
an account
of the Eng-
lish army.

confidence, he marched as he had done before. Sir Marmaduke sent him every day advice that confirmed the former, "and that his horse had encountered some
" of the enemy, and that their whole body was a
" hand; but that it was true, it was not a body equal
" in number to their army, yet all that Cromwell ex-
" pected was to join battle with him." All this gained not credit, till Sir Marmaduke himself, making his retreat with very sharp skirmishes, in which many men fell on both sides, was pursued into the head quarters of the Duke; whither he likewise brought with him some prisoners, who averred, that the whole body of the army was within five or six miles, and marched as fast as they were able.

The Duke was confounded with the intelligence, and knew not what to do: the army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no shew of any purpose to fight. In this amazement, the Duke stayed himself with some officers at Preston; and caused his foot to be drawn over a bridge, that they might march towards Wiggan, a town in Lancashire, where he should, as he thought, find some regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In the mean time Sir Marmaduke Langdale returned to his troops, the Duke having promised to send him some troops to assist, and that some foot should be sent to keep a lane, that would flank his men upon his retreat. Sir Marmaduke retired before the enemy, and drew up his troops into the closes near Preston. The enemy followed him close, and pressed him very hard; notwithstanding which he maintained the dispute for above six hours with great courage, and with very great loss to the enemy in officers, and common soldiers; inasmuch

as they seemed to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the Scots sent him no assistance, but concluded that it was not Cromwell's whole army that assailed him; but only some party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And Sir Marmaduke Langdale told me often afterwards, "that he verily believed, if one thousand foot had then been sent to him, he should have gained the day:" and Cromwell himself acknowledged, that he never saw foot fight so desperately as they did.

The Scots continued their march over the bridge, without taking care to secure the lane, which he had recommended to them; by which Cromwell's horse came upon his flank, whilst he was equally pressed in the van. So that his excellent body of foot being broken, Sir Marmaduke, and such of his horse as kept together, were driven into the town; where the Duke remained yet with some officers; who all retreated over a ford to the foot, who were in equal disorder. For as soon as the English forces were broken, the Scots were presently beaten from the bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the Duke had still a great part of his own army together; with which he continued to march two or three days to Wiggan; thence to Warrington; where Baily capitulated, and delivered up all the foot; thence to Nantwich, and at last to Uxeter; and in all that time many of the Scottish noblemen forsook him, and rendered themselves prisoners to the gentlemen of the country; and Cromwell's troops under Lambert pressed so hard upon the rear, that they killed, and took as many prisoners as they pleased, without hazarding their own men. The Duke was scarce got into Uxeter, when his troops, which made no resistance, were beaten in upon him, and so close pursued by Cromwell's horse

Sir M.
Langdale
fights, and
is beaten
and Duke
Hamilton
routed.

The Duke
taken. ✓

under Lambert, that himself and all the principal officers (some few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their horses, made their escape) were taken prisoners: the Duke neither behaving himself like a General, nor with that courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all submissions, and all excuses to those who took him.

Sir M.
Langdale
taken. ✓

Thus his whole army was routed, and defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deserved it by any opposition; the rest taken prisoners, all their cannon and baggage taken, and their colours; only some of their horse, which had been quartered most backward, made haste to carry news to their country of the ill success of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were for the most part taken by the activity of the country, or the horse that pursued them; whereof, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with some of his officers and soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the ill fortune to be discovered; and was so taken prisoner, and sent to the castle of Nottingham. All this great victory was got by Cromwell with an army amounting to a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminished half a hundred in obtaining this victory, after the English forces under Langdale had been defeated.

It may be proper now to mention, that the Lord Cottington, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had many misadventures; which detained them from attending upon the Prince in the fleet. As soon as they heard that his Highness had put himself on board a ship at Calais to find the fleet in Holland, they embarked at Dieppe, in a French man of war that was bound for Dunkirk; where

where when they arrived, they found a gentleman, a servant of the Prince's, who informed them, " that the Prince was with the whole fleet in the Downs, and " that he had sent him with a letter to the Marshal " Ranzaw, who was Governor of Dunkirk, to borrow a " frigate of him;" which he had there, and had by some civil message offered to lend to his Highness; and the Marshal, who received them with great civility, assured them that the frigate should be ready the next day, and, if they pleased to make use of it, should carry them to the Prince.

They looked upon it as a good opportunity, which would deliver them much sooner at the fleet, than they had before expected to be; and so, without weighing the dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at sea, but that they might be taken by the Parliament ships; which, by the Prince's being with his fleet in the Downs, and so being master at sea, was hardly possible. So they unwarily put themselves into that frigate, and set sail in the evening from Dunkirk; presuming that they should, the next morning, find themselves in the Downs with the Prince. But there was so dead a calm that night, that they made very little way; and, the next morning, they found that they were chased by six or seven frigates of Ostend. In short, they were taken prisoners, and plundered of all they had, (which amounted to good value in jewels and money), and were carried into Ostend, where, though they were presently at liberty, they were compelled to stay many days, not without some hope, raised by the civility of the Spanish governor, and the Lords of the Admiralty there, who very liberally promised an entire

R 4

restitution

restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect, that brutish people, the free-booters, being subject to no government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that happened, and that they would attend his command at Flushing; whither they easily went. Within few days after, the Prince, out of the Downs, sent a frigate for them to Flushing; where they embarked several times, and were at sea the whole night, and in the morning driven back by high winds, sometimes into Flushing, sometimes to Ramenks; and so were compelled to go to Middleborough, and after a month's stay in those places, and many attempts to get to sea, they received order from the Prince to attend him in Holland, whither he had resolved to go, as soon as the Earl of Lautherdale arrived from Scotland in the fleet, and had delivered his imperious invitation for the Prince's immediate repair to the Scottish army; which was then entered into England. By this means they came not to the Prince, till the next day after he came to the Hague, having left the fleet before Goree and near Helvoetsluys.

The Prince
comes to
the Hague.

The Prince was received by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge; his Royal Highness every night lodging in the palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of Orange and the Princess lay, and where both his Royal Highness and the Duke of York had very good apartments; the Prince and Duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Princess Royal, the Prince of Orange himself keeping his own table open, according to custom, for the resort of such of the States, or officers of the army, or other noble persons, who frequently repaired thither.

The Prince of Wales's Court was full of faction, and animosity

animosity against each other, so that the new comers were not only very well received by the Prince, but very welcome to every body, who being angry with the other counsellors there, believed that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the Hague, when Herbert the Attorney General came to them, and congratulated their arrival, and told them, "how much they had been wanted, and "how much Prince Rupert longed for their company." And within a very short time after, Prince Rupert himself came to bid them welcome, with all possible grace, and profession of great kindness and esteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly against the whole administration of the fleet, in which most part of the Court, which had been present, and who agreed in nothing else, concurred with them.

Divisions
among the
Prince of
Wales's
Court.

The whole clamour was against the Lord Colepepper, and Sir Robert Long the Prince's Secretary, who, by the Queen's injunction, was wholly subservient to the Lord Colepepper. They accused them of corruption; not only with reference to the cloth ship, but to the release of very many other ships, which they had discharged upon no other reason, but as it would be a very popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the city of London. Though there was much discourse of money brought to both their cabins by Mr. Lowe, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the Lord Colepepper, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having some infirmities, and a multitude of enemies, he was never absolved from any thing of which any man accused him; and the other was so notoriously inclined to that way of husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that
great

great riches were parted with, and had been released for little or no money; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it easily believed that such unthrifty counsel could not have been given, except by those who were well rewarded for it; which still fell upon those two.

There was a general murmur that the fleet had lain so long idle at the mouth of the river, when it had been proposed that it might go to the Isle of Wight, where they might, in the consternation the whole kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have released the King; Carisbrook being near the sea, a castle not strong in itself, the island well affected, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them. And why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could have been attended with no damage considerable, was not made, was never fully answered.

They were very angry with Batten, and would have it treachery in him, that the two fleets did not fight with each other, when they were so near engaging in the river; which, they said, they might well have done before the wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the Prince; and in this the clamour of the seamen joined with them. But it was but clamour, for most dispassionate men gave him a good testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful officer, and was very forward to fight whilst there was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon him, of passing by the ships which came from Portsmouth, in the night, was not so well answered: for it was known, though he said that they were passed by, and out of reach before he was informed of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reasonably enough have been done, out
of

of apprehension, besides the inconvenience of a night engagement, that the noise of the conflict might have called the Earl of Warwick out of the river to their assistance, before they could have mastered them; there being two or three of the best ships of the royal navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urged by himself, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his cowardice, of which the seamen, as well as the courtiers, accused him; though, as was generally thought, without reason, and only with prejudice to the man for what he had done before, and because he was a man of a regular and orderly course of life, and command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised men to reputation in that province. There was only one man in the Council of whom nobody spoke ill, nor laid any thing to his charge; and that was the Lord Hopton. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of Prince Rupert, with all the other lords of the Court, and the Attorney General, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular virtue, and fidelity, and his unquestionable courage, and industry (all which his enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve.

This state the Court was in, when the two lately mentioned counsellors came; who quickly discerned, by the unsteady humours and strong passions all men were possessed with, that they should not preserve the reputation they seemed to have with every body for the present, any long time, and foresaw that necessity would presently break in upon them like an armed man, that would disturb and distract all their counsels. And there

there was, even at the instant in which they arrived at the Hague, the fatal advertisement of that defeat of the Scottish army, which must break all their measures, and render the condition of the Prince, and of the whole kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the King his father in the utmost despair.

The rumour of this defeat came to the Hague the next day after the Prince came thither, but not so particularly that the extent of it was known, or the tragical effects yet thoroughly understood. And his Highness appointing his Council to meet together the next morning after the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came thither, he informed them of the Lord Lautherdale's message to him from the Parliament of Scotland, and that he very earnestly pressed him, even since the news of the defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their army; and his Highness thought fit, that the Earl should give an account of his commission at the Board; whereupon he was sent for in; and, that all respect might be shewed to the Parliament of Scotland, he had a chair allowed him to sit upon.

The letter
of the Par-
liament of
Scotland to
the Prince.

He first read his commission from the Parliament, and then the letter which the Parliament had writ to the Prince; in which, having at large magnified the great affection of the Parliament, "that out of their
"native and constant affection and duty to their
"King, and finding that, contrary to the duty of sub-
"jects, his Majesty was imprisoned by the traitorous
"and rebellious army in England, they had raised an
"army in that kingdom, that, since their advice, coun-
"sel, and intreaty in an amicable way, could not pre-
"vail, might by force redeem his Majesty's person
"from that captivity; which they held themselves
"obliged

" obliged by their solemn League and Covenant to en-
 " deavour to do, with the hazard of their lives and for-
 " tunes : that this army was already entered into Eng-
 " land, under the command of James Duke Hamil-
 " ton, whom, in respect of his known and eminent fi-
 " delity to his Majesty, they had made General thereof;
 " and having now done all that was in their power to
 " do for the present, and having taken due care for the
 " seasonable supply and recruit of that army, they now
 " sent to his Highness, that he would with all possible
 " speed, according to the promise which the King his
 " father had made, transport his royal person, that he
 " might himself be in the head of that army to obtain
 " the liberty of his father ;" and they desired him,
 " that for the circumstances of his journey he would be
 " advised by the Earl of Lautherdale, to whom they had
 " given full instructions;" and they besought his High-
 " ness " to give credit to him in all things."

The Earl likewise shewed his instructions, by which
 none of the Prince's Chaplains were to be admitted to
 attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but
godly men should be suffered to be about the person of
 his Highness; and particularly that neither Prince Ru-
 pert, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor some
 other persons should be admitted to go with the Prince.
 And after all these things were read and enlarged upon,
 he pressed the Prince, with all imaginable instance, and
 without taking notice of any thing that was befallen
 their army in England, of which he could not but have
 had particular relation, that he would lose no time from
 entering upon his journey; and all this with as insolent
 and supercilious behaviour, as if their army had been
 triumphant.

When he had said all he meant to say, he sat still,

Delibera-
tion in the
Prince's
Council
about it.

as if he expected to hear what the Prince or any body else would say to what he proposed. It was then moved, "that, if he had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that the Council might debate the matter, before they gave their advice to the Prince." He took this motion very ill, and said "he was a privy counsellor to the King in Scotland, and being likewise a commissioner from the Parliament, he ought not to be excluded from any debate that concerned the affair upon which he was employed." This he urged in so imperious and offensive a manner, that drew on much sharpness; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who knew him very well since the treaty at Uxbridge, where they had often differed in matters of the highest importance, treated him with the same liberty they had then been accustomed to. He told him, "he meant not to say any thing in that debate, when he should be withdrawn, that he desired should be concealed from him, or unheard by him; and that he was ready to say, that in his judgment, all he had proposed was very unreasonable; but he would not that the dignity of the Board should be prostituted to his demand, nor that he should be present there at any debate." The Earl replied, "that he was sent by the Parliament and kingdom of Scotland, to the Prince of Wales, and that he did protest against having any thing he proposed to be treated, and debated by, or before the English Board; nor did he consider what was or should be said, by any man but the Prince himself." The Prince told him, "it was necessary that he himself should hear, and know what the opinion of the Council should be; and that it was as unreasonable that he should be present;" and thereupon commanded him to withdraw; which he

he presently submitted to with indecency enough. The Prince then told them, "that there were some persons
" come to the town, the last night, who came out of
" England after the news of the victory over the Scots
" came to London, with all the circumstances thereof ;
" and of the Duke's being taken prisoner ;" and that the Prince of Orange had told him, "that the States
" had received intelligence of it from their ambassador
" Newport, who resided in London." Upon the whole matter, the Prince resolved "to meet again the next
" morning to consult farther what he was to do, and
" that probably, in the mean time, the intelligence
" would be more perfect, and unquestionable, and they
" should see whether Lauderdale would take any notice
" of it."

But the night made no alteration in him ; he appeared the next morning with the same confidence, and the same importunity for the Prince to remove, and begin his journey. He was asked, "whether he
" had received no information of some ill fortune, that
" had befallen that army, which might so change the
" case since he left Scotland, that what might then
" have been fit, would be now unfit and uncounsellable ?" The Earl said, "he knew well what the news
" was from England ; and whatever he hoped, that he
" was not confident it was not true: however he hoped,
" that would not change the Prince's purpose, but
" that it would more concern him to pursue the resolution he was formerly obliged to ; that if any misfortune had befallen that army, the Prince had the more
" reason to endeavour to repair it ; which could be
" done no other way, than by his making all possible
" haste into Scotland ; which remained still a kingdom
" entire, wholly devoted to his service ; and that, by
" the

“ the benefit of his presence, might quickly draw together another army, towards which there was a good beginning already by the preservation of that body under Monroe : that if his Highness should decline this only probable way to preserve himself, and to recover his other two kingdoms, it would be thought he had little zeal for the liberty of his father, and as little for his own interest, and for the preservation of the Crown : he therefore besought his Highness, that he would cause some of his ships to be forthwith made ready, and would therein immediately transport himself into Scotland ; whereby the late wound would, in a short time, be healed ; which would otherwise prove incurable.”

But Scotland was so well known, and the power of Argyle, (which must be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary party), that his proposition was by all dispassionate men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearkened to : and the news from London, that Cromwell was marched into Scotland with his whole army, confirmed every honest man in that opinion. And within few days the Earl of Lautherdale seemed rather to think of going thither himself, where his own concerns were in great danger, than of pressing the Prince to so hazardous a voyage ; and after a few weeks more stay at the Hague, upon the intelligence from his friends in Scotland, how

The Earl of Lautherdale returns into Scotland.

affairs went there, he returned thither in the same ship that transported him from thence, with as much rage and malice against the Council about the Prince, as against Cromwell himself.

The defeat of the Scottish army at Preston, though it was not at first believed to be an entire victory over their whole body, there being double that number that

was

was not there or that marched from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on foot for raising men, in those northern counties, for the King's service, to have joined and united under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Sir Thomas Tildesly, a gentleman of a fair estate, who had served the King from the beginning of the war with good courage, was then with a body of English, with which he had besieged the castle of Lancaster, and was upon the point of reducing it, when the news of Preston arrived. It was then necessary to quit that design; and hearing that Major General Monroe, who, shortly after the Duke marched out of Scotland, followed him with a recruit of above six thousand horse and foot, was come to the skirts of Lancashire, he retired thither to him, having gathered up many of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's men, who had been broken at Preston, and some others who had been newly levied. Sir Thomas Tildesly moved Monroe, "that his forces, and some regiments of Scots, who yet remained about Kendal, might join with the English under his command, and march together towards Preston, and follow Cromwell in the rear, as he pursued the Scots:" which they might very well have done, being a body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand men; which was equal in number to the army under Cromwell. But the Major General would not consent to the motion, but retired to the farther part of Westmoreland; and the English followed them in the rear; presuming, that though they would not be persuaded to advance after Cromwell, yet that they would choose some other more convenient post to make a stand in, if the enemy followed them; and then that they would be glad to join with them: to which he was pressed again the next day, but con-

Sir Tho.
Tildesly
retires to
Monroe.

tinued still fast in his fullen resolution, without declaring what he meant to do ; and retired through Cumberland, where he had left a sad remembrance of his having passed that way a few days before, having then raised vast sums of money upon the poor people, and now in his retreat plundered almost all they had left.

Monroe having entered England, upon Hamilton's defeat retreats towards Scotland :

The English marched into the bishoprick of Durham, to join with such new levies as were then raising there ; and their number being increased by the addition of those troops which were under the command of Sir Henry Bellingham, they met again Major General Monroe in Northumberland, and desired him, " that they might unite together against the common enemy, who equally desired the destruction of them both." But he resolutely refused, and told them plainly, " that he would march directly into Scotland, " and expect orders there ;" which he did with all possible expedition.

Sir Philip Musgrave to Carlisle.

Sir Philip Musgrave believed that he and his foot might be welcome to Carlisle ; and went thither ; and sent Sir Henry Bellingham, Sir Robert Strickland, and Colonel Chater, to the Earl of Lanrick, and offered that they should carry their troops into Scotland to join with him ; who he knew well would stand in need of help. But he durst not accept their motion, saying, " if he should, Argyle would from thence take an excuse to invite Cromwell ;" who they heard was then upon his march towards Berwick, to bring his army into Scotland : upon which Sir Henry Bellingham returned with the party he commanded into Cumberland, paying for all they had through that part of Scotland it was necessary for them to pass through.

Sir Philip Musgrave had no better success with Sir William

William Levington, the Governor of Carlisle; for though he received him very civilly, and entered into a treaty with him, (for he knew well enough that he was not able to victual or defend the place without the assistance of the English, and therefore desired the assistance of Sir Philip in both), yet when articles were agreed upon, and signed by Sir Philip Musgrave, the Governor fell back, and refused to engage himself "not to deliver up the garrison without the consent of Sir Philip Musgrave;" who was contented that none of his men should come within the walls, until it should be most apparent, that they could no longer keep the field.

Within a short time after, orders were sent out of ~~Scotland~~ ^{Berwick and Carlisle} for the delivery of Berwick and Carlisle to ~~the Parliament~~ ^{be delivered to}; in which orders there was not the least ~~mention~~ ^{of the delivery} of making conditions for the English. Sir Philip Musgrave had yet Appleby castle in his own possession, having taken it after he had delivered ~~Carlisle~~ ^{Carlisle} to Duke Hamilton, and after he was marched ~~from~~ ^{thence} thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any ~~defect~~ ^{defect}, he made conditions for himself, and one hundred and fifty officers, many of them gentlemen of ~~quality~~ ^{quality}, who lived again to venture, and some to lose, ~~the rest for~~ ^{the rest for} the King: after which, he soon transported ~~himself~~ ^{himself} to Holland.

Cromwell resolved to lose no ~~advantage~~ ^{advantage} but as soon as he had perfected ~~his plan~~ ^{his plan} of Hamilton, by gathering up as ~~many troops~~ ^{many troops} as could of the dispersed troops, ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ towards Scotland, to pull up ~~to~~ ^{to} which any farther trouble ~~was~~ ^{was} though he was very earnestly ~~for~~ ^{for}

shire to reduce those at Pontefract castle; which grew very troublesome to all their neighbours; and, not satisfied with drawing contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made excursions into places at a great distance, and took divers substantial men prisoners, and carried them to the castle; where they remained till they redeemed themselves by great ransoms. However, he would not defer his northern march; but believing that he should be in a short time capable to take vengeance upon those affronts, he satisfied himself in sending Colonel Rainborough, with some troops of horse and foot, to restrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himself, with the rest of his army, continued their march for Scotland, it being about the end of August, or beginning of September, before the harvest of that country was yet ripe; and so capable of being destroyed.

Cromwell
marches
into Scot-
land.

It was generally believed, that the Marquis of Argyle earnestly invited him to this progress; for the defeat of the Scottish army in England had not yet enough made him master of Scotland. There was still a committee of Parliament sitting at Edinburgh, in which, and in the Council, the Earl of Lanrick swayed without a rival; and the troops which had been raised under Monroe for the recruit of the Duke's army, were still together, and at the Earl's devotion; so that the Marquis was still upon his good behaviour. If he did not invite Cromwell, he was very glad of his coming; and made all possible haste to bid him welcome upon his entering into the kingdom. They made great shews of being mutually glad to see each other, being linked together by many promises, and professions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

There was no act of hostility committed; Cromwell declaring,

declaring, "that he came with his army to preserve the
 "godly party, and to free the kingdom from a force,
 "which it was under, of malignant men, who had
 "forced the nation to break the friendship with their
 "brethren of England, who had been so faithful to
 "them: that it having pleased God to defeat that army
 "under Duke Hamilton, who endeavoured to engage
 "the two nations in each other's blood, he was come
 "thither to prevent any farther mischief, and to re-
 "move those from authority who had used their power
 "so ill; and that he hoped he should, in very few
 "days, return with an assurance of the brotherly affec-
 "tion of that kingdom to the Parliament of England;
 "which did not desire in any degree to invade their
 "liberties, or infringe their privileges." He was con-
 ducted to Edinburgh by the Marquis of Argyle, where ^{as receive}
 he was received with all solemnity, and the respect due to ^{at Edin-}
 the deliverer of their country, and his army quartered ^{burgh-}
 about, and supplied with all provisions the country could
 yield.

The Earl of Lanrick, and all the Hamiltonian fac-
 tion, (that is, all who had a mind to continue of it), were
 withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remained
 at Edinburgh were resolved to obey Argyle; who they
 saw could protect them. There were then enough
 left of the committee of Parliament to take care of the
 safety and good of the kingdom, without putting Crom-
 well to help them by the power of the English; which
 would have been a great discredit to their government.
 Whilst he remained their guest, (whom they enter-
 tained magnificently), Argyle thought himself able, by
 the laws of Scotland, to reform all that was amiss, and
 preserve the government upon the true foundation.
 So the committee of Parliament sent to Monroe an
 order

The committee of the Scottish Parliament order Monro to disband.

order and command to disband his troops; which when he seemed resolved not to do, he quickly discerned that Cromwell must be arbitrator; and thereupon he observed the orders of the committee very punctually: so that there was no power in Scotland that could oppose the command of Argyle; the committee of Parliament, the Council, all the magistrates of Edinburgh, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so, were either in prison, or fled. The pulpits were full of invectives against the sinfulness of the late engagement, and solemn fasts enjoined by the Assembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveness for that heinous transgression; the Chancellor Lowden giving the good example, by making his recantation and humble submission with many tears. Cromwell had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a kingdom as he could wish; and having thus concerted all things with his bosom friend Argyle, (who resolved, as soon as he was withdrawn a distance from Edinburgh, that he and his army might not be thought to have an influence upon the councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do), he returned for England; where he thought his presence was like to be wanted.

Cromwell returns for England.

The committee of Parliament at Edinburgh (who had authority to convene the Parliament when the major part of them should please; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were entered into) sent out their summons to call the Parliament. They who appeared, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the same passion and zeal with which they had entered into the engagement, they now declared it unlawful and ungodly;

The Scottish Parliament being called, condemn Duke Hamilton's engagement.

godly; and the Assembly joining with them, they communicated all who had the most eminent parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any office in the State, or of sitting in Council, or in Parliament; subjecting those who had sinned in a less degree, to such penalties as would for ever make them subject to their government. By these judgments, amongst others, the Earl of Lanrick was deprived of being Secretary of State, and that office was conferred upon the Earl of Lothian; who, in the beginning of the rebellion, had been employed by the conspirators into France, and coming afterwards into England was imprisoned thereupon, and being after set at liberty continued amongst those who, upon all occasions, carried the rebellion highest, and shewed the most implacable malice to the person of the King. And by this time Argyle was become so much more master of Scotland than Cromwell was of England, that he had not so much as the shadow of a Parliament to contend, or to comply with, or a necessity to ~~conceal~~ his known great talent of dissimulation, all men ~~and~~ as he enjoined them, without asking the reason or direction.

To return to the state of the King's affairs in England: when the Earl of Norwich and the Earl of Kent with the Kentish and Essex troops were ~~at~~ Colchester, their friends could not ~~prevent~~ that the Scottish army, which had ~~just~~ their march into England, contrary ~~to~~ would, though they were now ~~only~~ enough to relieve Colchester ~~from~~ reduced by famine. The Earl ~~was~~ necessary, since many who ~~were~~ gaged themselves upon his ~~word~~.

to begin his enterprize; to which the youth and warmth of the Duke of Buckingham, who was General of the horse, the Lord Francis Villiers his brother, and divers other young noblemen, spurred him on. And he might have the better opinion of his interest and party, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself into arms for the relief of Colchester, was so far from being a secret, that it was the common discourse of the town. There was a great appearance every morning, at his lodging, of those officers who were known to have served the King; his commissions shewed in many hands; no question being more commonly asked, than "when doth my Lord Holland go out?" and the answer was, "such and such a day;" and the hour he did take horse, when he was accompanied by an hundred horse from his house, was publicly talked of two or three days before.

His first rendezvous was at Kingston upon Thames; where he stayed two nights, and one whole day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of officers, but of common men, who had promised, and lifted themselves under several officers; and he imputed the security he had enjoyed so long, notwithstanding his purpose was so generally known, to the apprehension both the Parliament and the army had of the affections of the city to join with him; and he believed, that he should not only remain secure at Kingston, as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire regiments of the city would march out with him for the relief of Colchester.

During the short stay he made at Kingston, some officers and soldiers, both of horse and foot, came thither, and many persons of honour and quality, in their coaches, came to visit him and his company from
London;

London; and returned thither again to provide what was still wanting, and resolved to be with him soon enough. The principal officer the Earl relied upon (though he had better) was Dalbeer a Dutchman, of name and reputation, and good experience in war; who had served the Parliament as Commissary General of the horse under the Earl of Essex, and having been left out in the new model, was amongst those discontented officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the army; which they despised for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus Dalbeer was glad to depend upon the Earl of Holland, who thought himself likewise happy in such an officer. The keeping good guards, and sending out parties towards the Kentish parts, where it was known some troops remained since the last commotion there, was committed to his care. But he discharged it so ill, or his orders were so ill observed, that the second or third morning after their coming to Kingston, some of the Parliament's foot, with two or three troops of Colonel Rich's horse, fell upon a party of the Earl's about Nonsuch; and beat, and pursued them into Kingston, before those within had notice to be ready to receive them; the Earl and most of the rest making too much haste out of town, and never offering to charge those troops. In this confusion the Lord Francis Villiers, a youth of rare beauty and comeliness of person, endeavouring to make resistance, was unfortunately killed, with one or two more but of little note. Most of the foot made a shift to conceal themselves, and some officers, until they found means to retire to their close mansions in London. The Earl with near an hundred horse (the rest wisely taking the way to London, where they were never enquired after) wandered without purpose or design,

design, and was, two or three days after, beset in an inn at St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, by those few horse who pursued him, being joined with some troops of Colonel Scroop's; where the Earl delivered himself prisoner to the officer without resistance: yet at the same time Dalbeer and Kenelm Digby, the eldest son of Sir Kenelm, were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offered to defend themselves, was not known; and the Duke of Buckingham escaped, and happily found a way into London; where he lay concealed, till he had an opportunity to secure himself by being transported into Holland; where the Prince was; who received him with great grace and kindness. The Earl of Holland remained prisoner in the place where he was taken, till by order from the Parliament he was sent to Warwick castle, where he was kept prisoner with great strictness.

The total defeat of the Scottish army lately mentioned succeeded this, and when those noble persons within Colchester were advertised of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they subsist longer to expect it, being pressed with want of all kind of victual, and having eaten near all their horses. They sent therefore to Fairfax, to treat about the delivery of the town upon reasonable conditions; but he refused to treat, or give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the officers and gentlemen; the common soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within proposed "to make a brisk sally; and thereby "to shift for themselves, as many as could." But they had too few horse, and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that enterprise. Then, "that "they should open a port, and every man die with
" their

Escapes to
St. Neots,
where he is
taken.

their arms in their hands;" but that way they could only be sure of being killed, without much hurting their adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault them. Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themselves up prisoners at mercy; and were, ^{Colchester delivered,} all the officers and gentlemen, led into the public hall of the town; where they were locked up, and a strong guard set upon them. They were required presently to send a list of all their names to the General; which they did; and, within a short time after, a guard was sent to bring Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne to the General, being saté with his Council of War. They were carried in, and in a very short discourse told, "that
 "after so long and so obstinate a defence until they
 "found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy,
 "it was necessary, for the example of others, and that
 "the peace of the kingdom might be no more disturbed in that manner, that some military justice
 "should be executed; and therefore, that Council
 "had determined they three should be presently shot
 "to death;" for which they were advised to prepare themselves; and without considering, or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a yard there by; where they found three files of musqueteers ready for their dispatch.

Sir Bernard Gascoigne was a gentleman of Florence and had served the King in the war, and afterwards remained in London till the unhappy adventure of Colchester, and then accompanied his friends thither; and had only English enough to make himself understood, that he desired a pen and ink and paper, that he might write a letter to his Prince the Great Duke, that his Highness might know in what manner he lost his life,

to the end his heirs might possess his estate. The officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the General and Council, without which he durst not allow him pen and ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand: when they were informed of it, they thought it a matter worthy some consideration: they had chosen him out of the list for his quality, conceiving him to be an English gentleman, and preferring him for being a knight, that they might sacrifice three of that rank.

This delay brought the news of this bloody resolution to the prisoners in the town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the Lord Capel prevailed with an officer, or soldier, of their guard, to carry a letter, signed by the chief persons and officers, and in the name of the rest, to the General; in which they took notice of that judgment, and desired him "either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with those three, undergo the same sentence with them." The letter was delivered, but had no other effect than the sending to the officer to dispatch his order, reserving the Italian to the last. Sir Charles Lucas was their first work; who fell dead; upon which Sir George Lisle ran to him, embraced him, and kissed him; and then stood up, and looked those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they stood at too great a distance, spake to them to come nearer; to which one of them said, "I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you:" he answered smiling, "Friends, I have been nearer you, when you have missed me." Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he fell down dead of many wounds without speaking word. Sir Bernard Gascoigne had his doublet off, and expected the

Sir Charles
Lucas and
Sir George
Lisle shot to
death.

the next turn ; but the officer told him “ he had order
 “ to carry him back to his friends ;” which at that
 time was very indifferent to him. The Council of
 War had considered, that if they should in this manner
 have taken the life of a foreigner, who seemed to be a
 person of quality, their friends or children who should
 visit Italy might pay dear for many generations ; and
 therefore they commanded the officer, “ when the other
 “ two should be dead, to carry him back again to the
 “ other prisoners.”

The two who were thus murdered were men of <sup>Their cha-
 racters.</sup> great name and esteem in the war ; the one being held
 as good a commander of horse, and the other of foot,
 as the nation had ; but of very different tempers and
 humours. Lucas was the younger brother of the Lord
 Lucas, and his heir both to the honour and estate, and
 had a present fortune of his own. He had been bred
 in the Low Countries under the Prince of Orange, and
 always amongst the horse. He had little conversation
 in that Court, where great civility was practised, and
 learned. He was very brave in his person, and in a
 day of battle a gallant man to look upon, and follow ;
 but at all other times and places, of a nature scarce to
 be lived with, of no good understanding, of a rough
 and proud humour, and very morose conversation ; yet
 they all desired to accompany him in his death. Lisle
 was a gentleman who had had the same education with
 the other, and at the same time an officer of foot ; had
 all the courage of the other, and led his men to a
 battle with such an alacrity, that no man was ever
 better followed ; his soldiers never forsaking him ; and
 the party which he commanded, never left any thing
 undone which he led them upon. But then, to his
 fierceness of courage he had the softest and most gentle
 nature

nature imaginable; was kind to all, and beloved of all and without a capacity to have an enemy.

The manner of taking the lives of these worthy men was new, and without example, and concluded by most men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to Ireton, who swayed the General, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature. As soon as this bloody sacrifice was ended, Fairfax, with the chief officers, went to the town-house to visit the prisoners; and the General (who was an ill orator on the most plausible occasion) applied with his civility to the Earl of Norwich, and the Lord Capel; and, seeming in some degree to excuse the having done the which he said "the military justice required," he told them, "that all the lives of the rest were safe; and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct." The Lord Capel had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest;" upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, that cost him his life in few months after. When the General had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he received order to send the Earl of Norwich and the Lord Capel to Windsor castle; where they had afterwards the society of Duke Hamilton, to lament each other's misfortunes; and after some time they two were sent to the Tower.

Though the city had undergone so many severe mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entering into any more dangerous engagements,

agements, at least all other people might have been terrified from depending again upon such engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recovered new spirits for new undertakings; and seemed always to have observed somewhat in the last miscarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the city, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the army, when that was at a distance appeared resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their counsels. So that Cromwell had no sooner begun his march towards the North, and Fairfax his into Kent, but the Common Council delivered a petition to the Parliament, "that they would entertain a personal treaty with the King, that the kingdom might be restored again to a happy peace; which could be hoped for no other way." ^{The behaviour of the city at this time.}

This was the first presumption that had been offered, since their vote of no more addressees to be made to the King; which had been near half a year before; and this seemed to be made with so universal a concurrence of the city, that the Parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it. And in truth the major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made Sir Harry Vane, and that party in the Parliament to which the army adhered, or rather which adhered to the army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion. And therefore they appointed a committee of the House of Commons, to meet with a committee of the Common Council, as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's safety and security during the time of the treaty: which committee being met together,

^{They petition for a personal treaty.}

^{A committee of Parliament treats with them about it.}

gether, that of the House of Commons perplexed the other with many questions, "what they meant by "those expressions, they used in their petition," (and had been the common expressions, long used both by the King and the Parliament, in all applications which had concerned a treaty), "that his Majesty might "treat with honour, freedom, and safety? what they "intended by those words? and whether the city "would be at the charge in maintaining those guards, "which were to be kept for the security of the King "during such treaty; and if the King should in that "treaty refuse to give the Parliament satisfaction, how "his person should be disposed of?" and many such questions, to which they well knew that the committee itself could make no answer, but that there must be another Common Council called, to which they must repair for directions. And by this means, and administering new questions at every meeting, much time was spent, and the delays they wished could not be avoided. So that notwithstanding all the city's earnestness that the treaty might be presently entered upon, it was delayed till the insurrection in Kent, and the designs of the Earl of Holland (to both which they had promised another kind of assistance) were both disappointed, and expired. However, the Prince was still in the Downs with his fleet, and the gentlemen in Colchester defended themselves resolutely, and the Scottish army was entered the kingdom, all which kept up their courage; insomuch as, after all the delays, the Parliament consented, and declared, "that they would enter "into a personal treaty with the King for the settling "the peace of the kingdom; but that the treaty "should be in the Isle of Wight, where his Majesty "should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety."

The Parliament declares for a personal treaty.

The

The city had offered before to the committee upon some of the questions which had been administered to them, "that if the treaty might be in London, "they would be at the charge of maintaining those "guards which should be necessary for the safety and "security of the King;" and therefore they were very much troubled, that the treaty should be now in the Isle of Wight, upon which they could have no influence; yet they thought not fit to make any new instances for change of the place, lest the Parliament might recede from their vote, that there should be a treaty entered upon. So they only renewed their importunity, that all expedition might be used; and, in spite of all delays, in the beginning of August a committee was sent from both Houses to the King to Ca-
A committee of both Houses sent to the King for that purpose in the beginning of August.
 risbrook castle, where he had been close shut up about half a year, without being suffered to speak with any but such who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

The message the committee delivered was, "that
The substance of their message to the King.
 "the Houses did desire a treaty with his Majesty, in
 "what place of the Isle of Wight he would appoint,
 "upon the propositions tendered to him at Hampton
 "Court, and such other propositions, as they should
 "cause to be presented to him; and that his Majesty
 "should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety to his per-
 "son." The messengers, who were one of the House
 of Peers and two Commoners, were to return within
 ten days, nobody being very strict in the limitation of
 time to a day, because the treaty was so much the
 longer kept off, which they hoped still would by some
 accident be prevented.

The King received them very graciously, and told them, "they could not believe that any man could de-

The King's
answer.

“ fire a peace more heartily than himself, because no
 “ man suffered so much by the want of it: that, though
 “ he was without any man to consult with, and with-
 “ out a secretary to write what he should dictate, yet
 “ they should not be put to stay long for an answer;”
 which he gave them within two or three days, all
 written in his own hand; in which, after he had la-
 mented his present condition, and the extreme restraint
 he was under, he said, “ he did very cheerfully em-
 brace their motion, and accepted a treaty they pro-
 mised should be with honour, freedom, and safety;
 “ which he hoped they did really intend should be
 “ performed; for that, in the condition he was in,
 “ he was so totally ignorant and uninformed of the
 “ present state of all his dominions, that a blind man
 “ was as fit to judge of colours, as he was to treat con-
 “ cerning the peace of the kingdom, except they would
 “ first revoke their votes, and orders, by which all
 “ men were prohibited and forbid to come, write, or
 “ speak to him. For the place, he could have wished,
 “ for the expedition that would have resulted from
 “ thence, that it might have been in or near London,
 “ to the end that the Parliament’s resolution and deter-
 “ mination might have been sooner known upon any
 “ emergent occasion that might have grown in the
 “ treaty, than it could be at such a distance: however,
 “ since they had resolved that it should be in the Isle
 “ of Wight, he would not except against it, but named
 “ the town of Newport for the place of the treaty.”
 He said, “ though he desired all expedition might be
 “ used towards the beginning and ending the treaty,
 “ yet he should not think himself in any freedom to
 “ treat, except, before the treaty begun, all such per-
 “ sons might have liberty to repair to him, whose ad-
 “ vice

“vice and assistance he should stand in need of in the treaty.” He sent a list of the names of those his servants which he desired might be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him; whereof the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, were the chief; all four gentlemen of his Bedchamber, and of his Privy Council. He named likewise all the other servants, whose attendance he desired in their several offices. He sent a list of the names of several Bishops, and of such of his Chaplains, as he desired to confer with, and of many common Lawyers, and some Civilians, whose advice he might have occasion to use, and desired, “that he might be in the same state of freedom, as he enjoyed whilst he had been at Hampton Court.”

By the time that the commissioners returned from the Isle of Wight, and delivered this answer to the Parliament, news was brought of the defeat of the Scottish army, and Cromwell had written to his friends, “what a perpetual ignominy it would be to the Parliament, that nobody abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they should recede from their former vote and declaration of no farther addresses to the King, and conjured them to continue firm in that resolution.” But they had gone too far now to recede, and since the first motion and petition from the Common Council for a treaty, very many members, who had opposed the vote and declaration of no more addresses, and from the time that had passed, had forborne ever to be present in the Parliament, upon the first mention of a treaty, flocked again to the House, and advanced that overture; so that they were much superior in number to those who endeavoured first to obstruct and delay, and now hoped absolutely to frustrate all that had

been proposed towards a treaty. And the great victory which had been obtained against the Scots, and which they concluded must speedily reduce Colchester and put a quick period to all other attempts against the Parliament, made them more earnest and solicitous for a treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent the confusion they discerned was the purpose of the army to bring upon the kingdom: and so with the more vigour they pressed "that satisfaction might be given to the King, in all that he had proposed in his answer;" and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was

The vote of no more addresses repealed; and the treaty to be at Newport.

declared, "that the vote for no more addresses should stand repealed: that the treaty should be at Newport; and that his Majesty should be there, in the same freedom in which he was at Hampton Court: that the instructions to Colonel Hammond, by which the King had been in that manner restrained, and all persons forbid from going to him, should be recalled: that all those persons who were named by the King, should have free liberty to repair to him, and to remain with him without being questioned, or troubled." And having proceeded thus far, they nominated five lords and ten commoners to be the commissioners who should treat with the King, and who were enjoined to prepare all things to be in readiness for the treaty with all possible expedition; but Sir Harry Vane, being one of those commissioners, used all his arts to obstruct and delay it, in hope that Cromwell would dispatch his affairs in Scotland time enough to return, and to use more effectual and powerful arguments against it, than he was furnished withal.

All these occurrences were very well known to Cromwell, and were the motives which persuaded him to believe, that his presence at the Parliament was so necessary

fary

lary to suppress the Presbyterians, who ceased not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be prevailed with to stay and finish that only work of difficulty that remained to be done, which was the reducing Pontefract castle; but left Lambert to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of Rainsborough, who had lost his life by that garrison, with some circumstances which deserve to be remembered; as in truth all that adventure in the taking and defending that place, should be preserved by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the persons who were engaged in it.

When the first war had been brought to an end by the reduction of all places, and persons, which had held for the King, and all men's hopes had been rendered desperate, by the imprisonment of his Majesty in the Isle of Wight, those officers and gentlemen who had served, whilst there was any service, betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several counties; where they lived quietly and privately, under the insolence of those neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their conditions, submitted to them. When the Parliament had finished the war, they reduced or flighted most of the inland garrisons, the maintenance whereof was very chargeable: yet by the intercession of some person who commanded it, or out of the consideration of the strength and importance of the place, kept still a garrison in Pontefract castle, a new house and palace belonging to the Crown, and the Queen's jointure. The situation is most strong; no part whereof was common ground: the house very large, suitable to a princely seat, and though on top of a hill, so that it has the view of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

An account of the taking of Pontefract castle for the King.

shire, and Nottinghamshire, yet it was plentifully supplied with water. Colonel Cotterell, the Governor of this castle, exercised a very severe jurisdiction over his neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many gentlemen, and soldiers, who had served the King throughout the war, and who were known to retain the old affections, though they lived quietly under the present government. Upon the least jealousy or humour, these men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes imprisoned by the Governor in this garrison, which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the Scots would raise an army for the relief and release of the King, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his way for Scotland, had visited and conferred with some of his old friends and countrymen, who now lived quietly within some distance of Pontefract, who informed him of that garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the assurance he had of the resolution of the principal persons of the kingdom of Scotland, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, "that, when it should appear that an army was raised in Scotland upon that account, which must draw down the Parliament's army into the other northern counties, and that there should be risings in other parts of the kingdom," (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out), "that then those gentlemen should endeavour the surprize of that castle, and after they had made themselves strong in it, and furnished it with provisions to endure some restraint, they should draw as good a body to them as those countries would yield:" and having thus adjusted that

that design, they settled such a way of correspondence with Sir Marmaduke, that they frequently gave him an account, and received his directions for their proceeding. In this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the Governor of the castle lived towards them with less jealousy, and more humanity, than he had been accustomed to.

There was one Colonel Morrice, who, being a very young man, had, in the beginning of the war, been an officer in some regiments of the King's; and, out of the folly and impatience of his youth, had quitted that service, and engaged himself in the Parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his courage, and pleasantness of his humour, made himself not only very acceptable, but was preferred to the command of a colonel, and performed many notable services for them, being a stout and bold undertaker in attempts of the greatest danger; wherein he had usually success. After the new modelling of the army, and the introducing of a stricter discipline, his life of great licence kept not his reputation with the new officers; and being a free speaker and censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new army, but with many professions of kindness, and respect to his eminent courage, which they would find some occasion to employ, and reward. He was a gentleman of a considerable estate in those parts in Yorkshire; of a command had grown elder, he had heartily detested; and as he having quitted the King's service, and had himself for take some seasonable opportunity to wipe himself resolved to misfit by a service that would redeem him off that blenot troubled to be set aside by the new; and so was betook himself to his estate; enjoyed his new General, but old humour, which

which was cheerful and pleasant; and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the Parliament; who thought that they had dismissed one of the best officers they had, and were sorry for it.

He now, as a country gentleman, frequented the fairs and markets, and conversed with equal freedom with all his neighbours, of what party soever they had been, and renewed the friendship he had formerly held with some of those gentlemen who had served the King. But no friendship was so dear to him, as that of the Governor of Pontefract castle, who loved him above all men, and delighted so much in his company, that he got him to be with him sometimes a week and more at a time in the castle, when they always lay together in one bed. He declared to one of those gentlemen, who were united together to make that attempt, "that he would surprise that castle, whenever they should think the season ripe for it;" and that gentleman, who knew him very well, believed him so entirely, that he told his companions, "that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surprise the place; which, by trusting too many, would be liable to discovery; but that he would take that charge upon himself, by a way they need not enquire into; which he assured them should not fail:" and they all very willingly acquiesced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. Morrice was more frequently with the Governor, who never thought himself well without him; and always told him "he must have a great care of his garrison, that he had none but faithful men in the castle; for that he was confident there were some men who lived not far off, and who many times
"came

“came to visit him, had some design upon the place;” and would then in confidence name many persons to him, some whereof were those very men with whom he communicated, and others were men of another temper, and were most devoted to the Parliament, all his particular friends and companions; “but that he should not be troubled; for he had a false brother amongst them, from whom he was sure to have a seasonable advertisement;” and promised him, “that he would, within few hours notice, bring him at any time forty or fifty good men into the castle to reinforce his garrison, when there should be occasion;” and he would shew him the list of such men, as would be always ready, and would sometimes bring some of those men with him, and tell the Governor before them, “that those were in the list he had given him of the honest fellows, who would stick to him when there should be need;” and others would accidentally tell the Governor, “that they had lifted themselves with Colonel Morrice to come to the castle, whenever he should call or send to them.” And all these men thus lifted, were fellows very notorious for the bitterness and malice which they had always against the King, not one of which he ever intended to make use of.

He made himself very familiar with all the soldiers in the castle, and used to play and drink with them; and, when he lay there, would often rise in the night, and visit the guards; and by that means would sometimes make the Governor dismiss and discharge a soldier whom he did not like, under pretence, “that he found him always asleep,” or some other fault which was not to be examined; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted.

and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the garrison. The Governor received several letters from his friends in the Parliament, and in the country, "that he should take care of Colonel Morrice, who resolved to betray him;" and informed him, "that he had been in such and such company of men, who were generally esteemed most malignant, and had great intrigues with them;" all which was well known to the Governor; for the other was never in any of that company, though with all the shew of secrecy, in the night, or in places remote from any house, but he always told the Governor of it, and of many particular passages in those meetings; so that when these letters came to him, he shewed them still to the other; and then both of them laughed at the intelligence; after which Morrice frequently called for his horse, and went home to his house, telling his friend, "that though he had, he knew, no mistrust of his friendship, and knew him too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet he ought not for his own sake be thought to slight the information; which would make his friends the less careful of him: that they had reason to give him warning of those meetings, which, if he had not known himself, had been very worthy of his suspicion; therefore he would forbear coming to the castle again, till this jealousy of his friends should be over; who would know of this, and be satisfied with it:" and no power of the Governor could prevail with him, at such times, to stay; but he would be gone, and stay away till he was, after some time, sent for again with great importunity, the Governor desiring his counsel and assistance as much as his company.

It fell out, as it usually doth in affairs of that nature,
when

when many men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be thoroughly ripe. The business of the fleet, and in Kent, and other places, and the daily alarms from Scotland, as if that army had been entering the kingdom, made the gentlemen who were engaged for this enterprise imagine that they deferred it too long, and that though they had received no orders from Sir Marmaduke Langdale, which they were to expect, yet they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon they called upon the gentleman who had undertaken, and he upon Morrice, for the execution of the design. The time agreed upon was such a night, when the surprisers were to be ready upon such a part of the wall, and to have ladders to mount in two places, where two soldiers were to be appointed for sentinels who were privy to the attempt. Morrice was in the castle, and in bed with the Governor, and, according to his custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without made the sign agreed upon, and were answered by one of the sentinels from the wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their ladders. By some accident, the other sentinel who was designed was not upon the other part of the wall; but when the ladder was mounted there, the sentinel called out; and finding that there were men under the wall, run towards the court of guard to call for help; which gave an alarm to the garrison: so that, for that time, the design was disappointed. But, shortly after, Morrice and some of the same gentlemen surprised the castle, under the disguise of countrymen coming in with carts of provision; and presently seized on and mastered the main guard, and made way for their friends, horse and foot, to enter. Then two or three of them went

to

to the Governor's chamber, whom they found in his bed, and told him "the castle was surpris'd, and him-
 ✓ self a prisoner." He betook himself to his arms for his defence, but quickly found that his friend had betrayed it, and the other gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warn'd, his defence was to no purpose, yet he received some wounds. Morrice afterwards comforted him with assurance "of good usage,
 "and that he would procure his pardon from the
 "King for his rebellion."

They put the garrison in good order, and so many came to them from Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Lincoln, that they could not in a short time be restrain'd, and had leisure to fetch in all sorts of provisions for their support, and to make and renew such fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From Nottingham there came Sir John Digby, Sir Hugh Cartwright, and a son and nephew of his, who had been good officers in the army, with many soldiers who had been under their command; many other gentlemen of the three counties were present, and deserve to have their names recorded, since it was an action throughout of great courage and conduct.

Cromwell's marching towards the Scots with the neglect of these men after their first appearance, and only appointing some county troops to inclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that driving those troops to a greater distance, they drew contribution from all the parts about them, and made incursions much farther, and rendered themselves so terrible, that, as was said before, after the Scots' defeat, those of Yorkshire sent very earnestly to Cromwell, "that he would make it the
 "business of his army to reduce Pontefract." But he,
 resolving

resolving upon his Scottish expedition, thought it enough to send Rainsborough to perform that service, with a regiment of horse, and one or two of foot, belonging to the army; which, with a conjunction of the country forces under the same command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. As soon as the castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the command of Morrice; who declared he would not accept the charge, nor be Governor of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of fortune, but under the direction of Sir John Digby; who was Colonel General of those parts, and was a man rather cordial in the service, than equal to the command; which made him refer all things still to the counsel and conduct of those officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute persons.

The total defeat of the Scottish army being now generally known, and that their friends in all other places were defeated, they in the castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making farther excursions. They heard that Rainsborough was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some troops to be quartered near them, himself yet keeping his head quarters at Doncaster, ten miles from the castle. They resolved; whilst they yet enjoyed this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been informed, that Sir Marmaduke Langdale, (whom they still called their General), after the overthrow of the Scottish army, had been taken prisoner, and remained in Nottingham castle, under a most strict custody, as a man the Parliament declared,

Part of the
garrison's
attempt
upon Rains-
borough.

declared, "they would make an example of their justice." A party of about twenty horse, but picked and choice men, went out of the castle, in the beginning of the night, with a resolution to take Rainborough prisoner, and thereby to ransom their General. They were all good guides, and understood the ways, private and public, very exactly; and went so far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of August, they put themselves into the common road that led from York; by which ways the guards expected no enemy; and so slightly asked them "whence they came?" who negligently answered; and asked again, "where their General was?" saying, "they had a letter for him "from Cromwell." They sent one to shew them where the General was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay at the best inn of the town. And when the gate of the inn was opened to them, three of them only entered into the inn, the other rode to the other end of the town to the bridge, over which they were to pass towards Pontefract; where they expected and did find a guard of horse and foot, with whom they entertained themselves in discourse, saying, "that they stayed for their officer, who went "only in to speak with the General;" and called for some drink. The guards making no question of their being friends, sent for drink, and talked negligently with them of news; and, it being broad day, some of the horse alighted, and the foot went to the court of guard, conceiving that morning's work to be over. They who went into the inn, where nobody was awake but the fellow who opened the gate, asked in which chamber the General (for so all the foldiers called Rainborough) lay; and the fellow shewing them from below the chamber door, two of them went up, and the other

other stayed below, and held the horses, and talked with the soldier who had walked with them from the guard. The two who went up, opened the chamber door, found Rainsborough in his bed, but awaked with the little noise they had made. They told him in short, "that he was their prisoner, and that it was in his power to choose whether he would be presently killed," (for which work he saw they were very well prepared), "or quietly, without making resistance, or delay, to put on his clothes and be mounted upon a horse, that was ready below for him, and accompany them to Pontefract." The present danger awakened him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haste that was necessary to put on his clothes. One of them took his sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the horses, had sent the soldier away to those who were gone before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any thing else that could be made ready in the house, against they came. When Rainsborough came into the street, which he expected to find full of horse, and saw only one man, who held the others' horses, and presently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to struggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their swords, and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their horses, and rode towards their fellows, before any in the inn could be ready to follow them. When those at the bridge saw their companions coming, which was their sign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turned upon the guard, and made them fly in distraction; so that the way was clear and free; and though they missed carrying

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ing home the prize for which they had made so lusty an adventure, they joined together, and marched, with the expedition that was necessary, a shorter way than they had come, to their garrison; leaving the town and soldiers behind in such a consternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their General, whom they found dead upon the ground without any body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and could not recollect themselves, which way they were to pursue an enemy they had not seen. The gallant party came safe home without the least damage to horse or man, hoping to make some other attempt more successfully, by which they might redeem Sir Marmaduke Langdale. There was not an officer in the army whom Cromwell would not as willingly have lost as this man; who was bold and barbarous to his wish, and fit to be entrusted in the most desperate interest, and was the man whom that party always intended to commit the maritime affairs to, when it should be time to dismiss the Earl of Warwick; he having been bred in that element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune spoken of in the beginning of the summer.

And now to finish this business of Pontefract altogether, which lasted near to the end of this year, when Lambert came to this charge, (instructed by Cromwell to take full vengeance for the loss of Rainsborough, to whose ghost he designed an ample sacrifice), and kept what body of men he thought fit for that purpose, he reduced them in a short time within their own circuit, making good works round about the castle, that they might at last yield to hunger, if nothing else would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly suffer themselves to be cooped up without bold and frequent sallies, in
which

which many of the besiegers, as well as the others, lost their lives. They discovered many of the country who held correspondence with, and gave intelligence to the castle, whom they apprehended, whereof there were two divines, and some women of note, friends and allies to the besieged. After frequent mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of relief, they were content to offer to treat for the delivery of the castle, if they might have honourable conditions; if not, they sent word, "that they had provisions yet for a good time; that they durst die, and would sell their lives at as dear a price as they could." Lambert answered, that he knew "they were gallant men, and that he desired to preserve as many of them, as was in his power to do; but he must require six of them to be given up to him, whose lives he could not save; which he was sorry for, since they were brave men; but his hands were bound." The six excepted by him were Colonel Morrice, and five more whose names he found to have been amongst those who were in the party that had destroyed Rainsborough; which was an enterprise no brave enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did Lambert desire it, but Cromwell had enjoined it him: all the rest he "was content to release, that they might return to their houses, and apply themselves to the Parliament for their commissions, towards which he would do them all the good offices he could." They from within acknowledged "his civility in that particular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they would never be guilty of so base a thing, as to deliver up any of their companions;" and therefore they desired "they might have six days allowed them, that those six might do the best they could to deliver themselves; in which it should

“should be lawful for the rest to assist them;” which Lambert generously consented, “so that the rest would surrender at the end of that time;” which was agreed to. Upon the first day the garrison appeared twice or thrice, as if they were resolved to make a sally, but retired every time without charging; but the second day they made a very strong and brisk sally upon another place than where they had appeared the day before, and beat the enemy from their post, with the loss of men on both sides; and though the party of the castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof Morrice was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escaped; and the next day they made great shews of joy, as sent Lambert word, “that their six friends were gone” (though there were two still remaining,) “and therefore they would be ready the next day to surrender.”

The other two thought it to no purpose to make another attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous assistance from their friends, who had lost some of their own lives in the two former sallies to save theirs. The buildings of the castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of waste stones from some walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they walled up their two friends in such a manner that they had air to sustain them, and victual enough to feed them a month, in which time they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they opened their ports, and after Lambert had caused a strict inquiry

Pontefract
delivered up
to Lambert.

fringe

fition to be made for those six, none of which he did believe had in truth escaped, and was satisfied that none of them were amongst those who were come out, he received the rest very civilly, and observed his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six gallant men (as he called them) were escaped.

And now they heard, which very much relieved their broken spirits, that Sir Marmaduke Langdale had made an escape out of the castle of Nottingham; who shortly after transported himself beyond the seas. Lambert presently took care so to dismantle the castle, that there should be no more use of it for a garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing; and then drew off all his troops to new quarters; so that, within ten days after the surrender, the two, who were left walled up, threw down their inclosure, and securely provided for themselves. Sir John Digby lived many years after the King's return, and was often with his Majesty. Poor Morrice was afterwards taken in Lancashire, and happened to be put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the King, and where he first performed a great service to the Parliament.

In this desperate condition, that is before described, stood the King's affairs when the Prince was at the Hague, his fleet already mutinying for pay, his own family factious and in necessity, and that of his brother the Duke of York full of intrigues and designs, between the restless unquiet spirit of Bamfield, and the ambitious and as unquiet humour of Sir John Berkley. The Council, which was not numerous, (for the Prince had not authority to add any to those who were his father's counsellors), wanted not unity in itself, so much as submission and respect from others, which had been

The condition of the Prince and the Duke of York at the Hague, and the factions among their followers.

lost to those who were in the fleet, and the prejudice to those still remained, and so abated much of the reverence which most men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And the great animosity which Prince Rupert had against the Lord Colepepper infinitely disturbed the counsels, and perplexed the Lord Cottington, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But Colepepper had some passions and infirmities, which no friends could restrain; and though Prince Rupert was very well inclined to the Chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to Colepepper was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by Herbert the Attorney General, who had the absolute ascendant over that Prince, and who did perfectly hate all the world that would not be governed by him, that every meeting in council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

One day the Council met (as it used to do when they did not attend the Prince of Wales at his lodgings) at the Lord Treasurer's lodging, (he and the Chancellor of the Exchequer being in one house), about giving direction for the sale of some goods which had been taken at sea, for the raising of money toward the payment of the fleet. In such services merchants, and other proper persons, were always necessary to be trusted. Prince Rupert proposed, "that one Sir Robert Walsli" (a person too well known to be trusted) "might be employed in that affair:" it was to sell a ship of sugar. No man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employed; but the Lord Colepepper spoke against him with some warmth, so that it might be thought to reflect a little upon Prince Rupert, who had proposed him. Upon which, he asking

ing " what exceptions there were to Sir Robert Walsh, " why he might not be fit for it," Colepepper answered with some quickness, " that he was a known cheat;" which, though notoriously true, the Prince seemed to take very ill; and said, " he was his friend, and a gentleman; and if he should come to hear of what had " been said, he knew not how the Lord Colepepper " could avoid fighting with him." Colepepper, whose courage no man doubted, presently replied, " that he " would not fight with Walsh, but he would fight " with his Highness;" to which the Prince answered very quietly, " that it was well;" and the Council rose in great perplexity.

Prince Rupert went out of the house, and the Chancellor led the Lord Colepepper into the garden, hoping that he should so far have prevailed with him, as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have persuaded him presently to go to the Prince, and to ask his pardon, that no notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too stupid to conceive he had committed any fault, but to think only of making good what he had so much said. Prince Rupert quickly informed him of this to the Attorney General of all that had passed. He was the unfittest man living to be trusted in such a secret, having always about him stores of money upon such fire. He soon found out the matter, and was known to the Prince, who presently sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be informed of the matter; and when he understood the matter, he was troubled, and required him to make a report " that he ought to make a report " pert; without which words

He went first to Prince Rupert

him till he could convince the other of his fault; and he so far prevailed with his Highness, who would have been more cholerick if he had had less right of his side, that he was willing to receive a submission; and promised, "that the other should receive no affront in "the mean time." But he found more difficulty on the other side, the Lord Colepepper, continuing still in rage, thought the provocation was so great, that he ought to be excused for the reply, and that the Prince ought to acknowledge the one as well as he the other. But after some days recollection, finding nobody with whom he conversed of his mind, and understanding how much the Prince was displeased, and that he expected he should ask Prince Rupert pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was in, where he could expect no security from his quality and function, he resolved to do what he ought to have done at first; and so he went with the Chancellor to Prince Rupert's lodging; where he behaved himself very well; and the Prince received him with all the grace could be expected; so that so ill a business seemed to be as well concluded as the nature of it would admit. But the worst was to come: the Attorney General had done all he could to dissuade that Prince from accepting so small and so private a satisfaction; but, not prevailing, he inflamed Sir Robert Walsh, who had been informed of all that had passed at the Council concerning himself, to take his own revenge; in which many men thought, that he was assured Prince Rupert would not be offended. And the next morning after his Highness had received satisfaction, as the Lord Colepepper was walking to the Council without a sword, Walsh, coming to him, seemed quietly to expostulate with him, for having mentioned him so unkindly. To the which the other answered,

swered, "that he would give him satisfaction in any way he would require; though he ought not to be called in question for any thing he had said in that place." On a sudden, whilst they were in this calm discourse, Walsh struck him with all his force one blow in the face with his fist; and then stepped back, and drew his sword; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and the Lord Colepepper, with his nose and face all bloody, went back to his chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the clock in the morning, in the sight of the town; which troubled the Prince exceedingly; who immediately sent to the States to demand justice; and they, according to their method and slow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, caused Walsh to be summoned, and after so many days, for want of appearance, he was by the sound of a bell publicly banished from the Hague; and so he made his residence in Amsterdam, or what other place he pleased. And this was the reparation the States gave the Prince for so ruffianly a transgression; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy business exposed the Prince himself, as well as his Council, to more disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

The improvidence that had been used in the fleet, besides its unactivity, by the dismissing so many great prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither money to pay the seamen, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new victual the ships, which was as important; since it was easy to be foreseen, that they could not remain long in the station where they were for the present, and the extreme licence which all men took

took to censure and reproach that improvidence, disturbed all counsels, and made conversation itself very uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that licence, every man believing that his particular necessities, with which all men abounded, might easily have been relieved, and provided for, if it had not been for that husbandry; which they therefore called treachery and corruption. It cannot be denied but there was so great a treasure taken, which turned to no account, and so much more might have been taken, if the several ships had been applied to that end, that a full provision might have been made, both for the support of the fleet, and supply of the Prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the same had been well managed; and could have been deposited in some secure place, till all might have been sold at good markets. And nobody was satisfied with the reasons which were given for the discharging and dismissing so many ships to gratify the city of London, and the Presbyterian party throughout the kingdom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away and lost, was generally believed to be worth more than all they would have done, if they had been able, those bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that people; whose affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but their sharp sufferings, and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their trade, and the seizing upon their estates, being, at that time, thought by many the most proper application to the city of London, and the best arguments to make them in love with peace, and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give it. And if the fleet had applied itself to that, and visited all those maritime parts which were in counties well affected, and
where

where some places had declared for the King, (as Scarborough in Yorkshire did), if it had not been possible to have set the King at liberty in the Isle of Wight, or to have relieved Colchester, (both which many men believed, how unskilfully soever, to be practicable), it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honourably than it did.

But let the ill consequence be never so great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would probably have been discovered by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the Queen was so fully possessed of the purpose and the power of the Scots to do the King's business, before the insurrections in the several parts in England, and the revolt of the fleet appeared, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon Scotland, as the sole foundation of the King's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the fleet's returning to their allegiance, only as an opportunity offered by Providence to transport the Prince with security thither. And her instructions to those she trusted about the Prince were so positive, "that they should not give consent to any thing that might divert or delay that expedition," that, if the Earl of Lautherdale had been arrived when the Prince came to the fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have transported the Prince into Scotland, what other conveniences soever, preferable to that, had offered themselves. And the very next day after that lord's coming to the Prince in the Downs, his injunctions and behaviour were so imperious for the Prince's present departure, that nothing but a direct mutiny among the seamen prevented it. His Highness's

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own ship was under fail for Holland, that he might from thence have prosecuted his other voyage : nor would he at that time have taken Holland in his way, if there had been any quantity of provision in the fleet for such a peregrination. This expedition for Scotland was the more grievous to all men, because it was evident that the Prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offered, and only resigned himself implicitly to the pleasure of his mother.

The present ill condition of the fleet, and the unsteady humour of the common seamen was the more notorious, and unseasonable, by the Earl of Warwick's coming with another fleet from the Parliament upon the coast of Holland, within few days after the Prince came to the Hague, and anchoring within view of the King's fleet. And it is probable he would have made some hostile attempt upon it, well knowing that many officers and seamen were on shore, if the States had not, in the very instant, sent some of their ships of war to preserve the peace in their port. However, according to the insolence of his masters, and of most of those employed by them, the Earl sent a summons of a strange nature to the King's ships, in which he took notice, " that a fleet of ships, which were part of the navy " royal of the kingdom of England, was then riding at " anchor off Helvoetsluys, and bearing a standard : that " he did therefore, by the Parliament's authority, by " which he was constituted Lord High Admiral of " England, require the Admiral, or commander in " chief of that fleet, to take down the standard ; and " the captains, and mariners belonging to the ships, to " render themselves and the ships to him, as High " Admiral of England, and for the use of the King " and

The Earl of
Warwick
with his
fleet comes
upon the
coast of
Holland

“ and Parliament: and he did, by the like authority,
 “ offer an indemnity to all those who should submit to
 “ him.”

After which summons, though received by the Lord Willoughby, who remained on board the fleet in the command of Vice-Admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impression upon the officers, nor visibly, at that time, upon the common men, yet, during the time the Earl continued in so near a neighbourhood, he did find means by private insinuations, and by sending many of his seamen on shore at Helvoetsluys, (where they entered into conversation with their old companions), so to work upon and corrupt many of the seamen, that it afterwards appeared many were debauched; some whereof went on board his ships, others stayed to do more mischief. But that ill neighbourhood continued not long; for the season of the year, and the winds which usually rage on that coast in the month of September, removed him from that station, and carried him back to the Downs to attend new orders.

All these disturbances were attended with a worse, which fell out at the same time, and that was the sickness of the Prince; who, after some days indisposition, appeared to have the small pox; which almost distracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious life: and therefore the consternation was very universal whilst that was thought in danger. But, by the goodness and mercy of God, he recovered in few days the peril of that distemper; and, within a month, was restored to so perfect health, that he was able to take an account himself of his melancholic and perplexed affairs.

The Prince
 of Wales
 has the
 small pox.

There were two points which were chiefly to be considered,

sidered, and provided for by the Prince; neither of which would bear delay for the consultation and resolution; the first, how to make provision to pay and victual the fleet, and to compose the mutinous spirits of the seamen; who paid no reverence to their officers, inso-much as, in the short stay which the Earl of Warwick had made before Helvoetsluys, as hath been said, many of the seamen had gone over to him, and the *Constant Warwick*, a frigate of the best account, had either voluntarily left the Prince's fleet, or suffered itself willingly to be taken, and carried away with the rest into England. The other was, what he should do with the fleet, when it was both paid and victualled.

Towards the first, there were some ships brought in with the fleet, laden with several merchandize of value, that, if they could be sold for the true worth, would amount to a sum sufficient to pay the seamen their wages, and to put in provisions enough to serve four months; and there were many merchants from London, who were desirous to buy their own goods, which had been taken from them; and others had commissions from thence to buy the rest. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other market, but must be sold in the place where they were; and therefore they were resolved to have very good pennyworths. And there were many debts claimed, which the Prince had promised, whilst he was in the river, should be paid out of the first money that should be raised upon the sale of such and such ships: particularly, the Prince believed that the Countess of Carlisle, who had committed faults enough to the King and Queen, had pawned her necklace of pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she had totally disbursed in supplying officers, and making other provisions for the expedition of the Earl of Holland, (which sum of
fifteen

fifteen hundred pounds the Prince had promised the Lord Piercy her brother, who was a very importunate Solicitor), should be paid upon the sale of a ship that was laden with sugar, and was then conceived to be worth above six or seven thousand pounds. Others had the like engagements upon other ships: so that when money was to be raised upon the sale of merchandize, they who had such engagements, would be themselves intrusted, or nominate those who should be, to make the bargain with purchasers, to the end that they might be sure to receive what they claimed, out of the first monies that should be raised. By this means, double the value was delivered, to satisfy a debt that was not above the half.

But that which was worse than all this, the Prince of Orange advertised the Prince, that some questions had been started in the States, "what they should do, if
"the Parliament of England (which had now a very
"dreadful name) should send over to them to demand
"the restitution of those merchants' good, which had
"been unjustly taken in the Downs, and in the river of
"Thames, and had been brought into their ports, and
"were offered to sale there, against the obligation of
"that amity which had been observed between the two
"nations, during the late war? What answer they should
"be able to make, or how they could refuse to permit
"the owners of those goods to make their arrests,
"and to sue in their Admiralty for the same? Which
"first process would stop the present sale of whatever
"others pretended a title to, till the right should be determined." The Prince of Orange said, "that such
"questions used not to be started there without design," and therefore advised the Prince "to lose no
"time in making complete sales of all that was to be
"fold;

“ sold ; to the end that they who were engaged in the
“ purchase, might likewise be engaged in the defence
“ of it.” Upon this ground, as well as the others which
have been mentioned, hasty bargains were made with all
who desired to buy, and who would not buy except they
were sure to be good gainers by all the bargains which
they made. Nor could this be prevented by the cau-
tion or wisdom of any who were upon the place, with no
more authority than they had. Mr. Long, who was
Secretary to the Prince, had been possessed of the office
of receiving and paying all monies, whilst the Prince
was in the fleet, and so could not well be removed from
it when he came into Holland : though he was thought
to love money too well, yet nobody who loved it less,
would at that time have submitted to the employment,
which exposed him to the importunity and insolence of
all necessitous persons, when he could satisfy none ; yet
he liked it well with all its prejudice and disadvantage.

As soon as the money was raised, it was sent to the
fleet to pay the seamen ; and the Prince made a journey
to the fleet to see, and keep up the spirits of the sea-
men, who were very mutinous, not without the infusions
of some who did not desire they should be too well
pleased with their officers. The Lord Willoughby stayed
on board purely out of duty to the King, though he
liked neither the place he had, nor the people over whom
he was to command, who had yet more respect for him
than for any body else. Sir William Batten likewise
remained with them, not knowing well how to refuse it,
though he had too much reason to be weary of his pro-
vince, the seamen having contracted an implacable jea-
lousy and malice against him, more than they were na-
turally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was
not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had
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an impatient desire to make his peace, and to live in his own country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the King; against whom he never after took employment.

The other point to be resolved was yet more difficult, "what should be done with the fleet, and who should command it?" and though the advertisement the Prince of Orange had given his Royal Highness, of the question started in the States, concerned only the merchants' ships, which were made prize, yet it was very easy to discern the logic of that question would extend as well, and be applied to those of the royal navy, as to merchants' ships. And it was evident enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the ships of the King, or of the Parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the Houses, which kept them from being united in that demand. So that the Prince knew that nothing was more necessary than that they should be gone out of the ports of those Provinces, and that the States wished it exceedingly.

Whilst Bamfield was about the person of the Duke of York, he had infused into him a marvellous desire to be possessed of the government of the fleet: but the Duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for his Highness, nor for his father's service, that he should be embarked in it: and Bamfield, by an especial command from the King, who had discovered more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not suffered to come any more near the Prince, the Duke. So he returned into England; the person of never called in question for stealing the Duke away. From this time the Duke, who was not yet above fifteen years of age, was so far from desiring to be with the fleet, that, when there was once a proposition, upon occasion

casion of a sudden mutiny amongst the seamen, "that he should go to Helvoetfluys, to appear amongst them," who professed great duty to his Highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some servant about him who took pains to persuade him, "that the Council had inclined the Prince to that designation, out of ill will to his Highness, and that the ships might deliver him up to the Parliament." So unpleasant and uncomfortable a province had those persons, who, being of the King's Council, served both with great fidelity; every body who was unsatisfied (and nobody was satisfied) aspersing them, or some of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in such a manner as touched the honour of the rest, and most reflected upon the King's own honour and service.

Prince Rupert had a long desire to have that command of the fleet put into his hands; and that desire, though carried with all secrecy, had been the cause of so many intrigues, either to inflame the seamen, or to cherish their froward inclinations, and increase the prejudice they had to Batten. The Attorney mentioned this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, shortly after his coming to the Hague, as a thing, he thought, that Prince might be induced to accept out of his zeal to the King's service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what person the government of the fleet could be committed, when it should set sail from that port, and whither it should go. The Chancellor made no other answer to him, than "that it was like to be a charge of much danger and hazard; that he must not believe that any body would propose the undertaking it to Prince Rupert, or that the Prince would command him to undertake it; and that he thought
" it

“ it necessary, that it should be first resolved what the
 “ fleet should do, and whither it should go, before a
 “ commander should be appointed over it.”

When the Marquis of Ormond had waited so many months at Paris for the performance of those gaudy promises which the Cardinal had made, after he saw in what manner the Prince of Wales himself was treated by him, and that he would not suffer the least assistance to be applied to the affairs of England, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the fleet, upon so powerful insurrections in England, and possessing so many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole kingdom of Scotland seemed so united for his Majesty's service, and an army of thirty thousand men were said to be even ready to march; I say, after he discerned that the Cardinal was so far from giving any countenance or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the destroying them, but the imprisoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for Ireland. And therefore he resolved, though he had neither men, nor money, nor arms, nor ammunition, all which had been very liberally promised to transport with him, he would yet transport his own person, to what evident danger soever he was to expose it. Upon the full assurance the Cardinal had given him of very substantial aid, he had assured the Lord Inchiquin, “ that he would be present “ with him with notable supply of money, arms, and “ ammunition, and good officers, and some common “ men,” (which were all in readiness, if the money had been paid to entertain them), and had likewise sent to many, who had formerly served the King, and lived now quietly in the enemy's quarters, upon the articles which

The affairs
 of the Mar-
 quis of Or-
 mond and
 the Lord
 Inchiquin
 in Ireland.

had been formerly granted the Marquis of Ormond, "that they should expect his speedy arrival."

And though he had, from time to time, sent advertisements of the delays and obstructions he met with in the French Court, so that he did almost despair of any assistance from it, yet the Lord Inchiquin had advanced too far to retire; and the Lord Lisle, who had been sufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into England with full malice, and such information (which was not hard for him to be furnished with) as would put Cromwell and the army into such fury, that his friends in the Parliament, who had hitherto sustained his credit, would be very hardly able to support him longer. So that, as he was to expect a storm from thence, so he had a very sharp war to maintain against the Irish, led and commanded by the Pope's Nuncio; which war had been always carried on in Munster with wonderful animosity, and with some circumstances of bloodiness, especially against priests, and others of the Roman clergy, that it was very hard to hope that those people would live well together. And indeed the Irish were near rooted out of the province of Munster, though they were powerful enough and strong in all the other provinces. Hereupon the Lord Inchiquin, with all possible earnestness, writ to the Lord of Ormond, "that, though without any other assistance, he would transport his own person:" by whose countenance and authority he presumed the Irish might be divided, and brought to reason; and desired him, "in the meantime, to send to such of the Irish as had dependence upon him, and who, he knew, in their hearts did not wish well to the Nuncio, that they would secretly correspond with him, and dispose their friends and dependents to concur in what might advance the King's service;

“ service; to which they did not know that he was inclined, but looked upon him, as the same malicious and irreconcilable enemy to them, as he had always appeared to be to their religion, more than to their persons.”

From the time that the Irish entered into that bloody and foolish rebellion, they had very different affections, intentions, and designs, which were every day improved in the carrying on the war. That part of them which inhabited the *Pale*, so called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of English extraction, since the first plantation by the English many ages past. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous customs of the Irish, and were as stupidly transported with the highest superstition of the Romish religion, yet they had always steadily adhered to the Crown, and performed the duty of good subjects during all those rebellions which the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth was seldom without. And of that temper most of the province of *Lemster* was: *Munster* was the most planted with English of all the provinces of Ireland, and though there were many noblemen of that province who were of the oldest Irish extractions, and of those families which had been kings of *Munster*, yet many of them had intermarried with the best English families, and so were better bred and more civilized than the rest of the old Irish, and lived regularly in obedience to the government, and by connivance enjoyed the exercise of their religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

An account
of the af-
fairs of the
Irish about
this time.

The seat of the old Irish, who retained the rites, customs, manners, and ignorance of their ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the province of *Ulster*; not the better cultivated by the neighbourhood

bourhood of the Scots, who were planted upon them in great numbers, with circumstances of great rigour. Here the rebellion was first contrived, cherished, and entered upon with that horrid barbarity, by the O'Neiles, the Macguynes, and the Macmahoons; and though it quickly spread itself, and was entertained in the other provinces, (many persons of honour and quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the Lords Justices, who denounced the war against all Irish equally, if not against all Roman Catholics; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declined in all the orders and directions sent to them out of England, but so unskilfully pursued by the Justices and Council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had cheerfully offered their service, they concluded, that the English Irish were as much in the jealousy of the State as the other, and so resolved to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable courses as the rest had done), yet, I say, they were no sooner entered into the war, which was so generally embraced, but there appeared a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the King, or of invading his prerogative, put themselves under the command of General Preston: the other, of the fiercer and more savage party, and who never meant to return to their obedience of the Crown of England, and looked upon all the estates which had ever been in the possession of any of their ancestors, though forfeited by their treason and rebellion, as justly due to them, and ravished

ed from them by the tyranny of the Crown, marched under the conduct of Owen Roe O'Neile; both generals of the Irish nation; the one descended of English extraction through many descents; the other purely Irish, and of the family of Tyrone; both bred in the wars of Flanders, and both eminent commanders there, and of perpetual jealousy of each other: the one of the more frank and open nature; the other darker, less polite, and the wiser man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous armies apart, than all the King's power could bring into the field against either of them.

The characters of Preston and O'Neile, their chief generals.

This disparity in the temper and humour of those people first disposed those of the most moderate to desire a peace shortly after the rebellion was begun, and produced the cessation that was first entered into, and the peace, which did not soon enough ensue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion; but did that in so immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the Protestants of the King's dominions.

Owen Roe O'Neile refused to submit to the conditions and articles of that peace, though transacted and confirmed by their Catholic Council at Kilkenny, which was the representative the Irish nation had chosen for the conduct of all the counsels for peace and war, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid, and tire obedience. The Pope's Nuncio, who about an entire time came from Rome, and transported himself into that kingdom, applied himself to Owen O'Neile, and took that party into his protection; and so wrought upon their clergy, generally, that he broke that peace, and prosecuted those who had made it, with those circumstances which have been before remembered, and which

necessitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the kingdom, and to leave the city of Dublin in the hands of the Parliament; the Lord Inchiquin having likewise refused to consent, and submit to that peace, and continued to make the war sharply and successfully against the Irish in the province of Munster; whereof he was president.

The Pope's
Nuncio
commands
the Irish

But the Nuncio was no sooner invested in the supreme command of that nation both by sea and land, as over a people subject to the Pope, and of a dominion belonging to him, than, being a man of a fantastical humour, and of an imperious and proud nature, he behaved himself so insolently towards all, (and, having brought no assistance to them but the Pope's bulls, endeavoured by new exactions to enrich himself), that even the men of Ulster were weary of him; and they who had been the instruments of the former peace were not wanting to foment those jealousies and discontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at St. Germain, and the resolution of sending the Marquis of Ormond thither again, both which have been related before. And the Marquis now having given the Lord Muskerry (who had married his sister, and was the most powerful person and of the greatest interest in Munster of all the Irish) and other of his friends notice that the Lord Inchiquin would serve the King, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his service, they found means to hold such intercourse with him, that, before the Marquis of Ormond arrived there, against all the opposition the Nuncio could make, a cessation of arms was concluded between the confederate Catholics and the Lord Inchiquin; and the Nuncio was driven into Waterford; and, upon the matter, besieged there by

by the Catholic Irish; and the Marquis arriving at the same time at Kinsale, and being received by the Lord Inchiquin with all imaginable duty as the King's Lieutenant, the forlorn and contemned Nuncio found it necessary to transport himself into Italy, leaving the kingdom of Ireland under an excommunication, and interdict, as an apostate nation; and all the province of Munster (in which there are many excellent ports) became immediately and entirely under the King's obedience. All which being well known to the Prince and the Council, it was easily concluded, "that it was the best, if not the only place the fleet could repair to;" though the danger in conducting it thither was visible enough; and therefore they were glad that Prince Rupert had made that advance towards the command of it, and well satisfied with the wariness of the answer the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the Attorney Herbert.

There was in truth nobody in view to whom the charge of the fleet could be committed but Prince Rupert: for it was well known that the Lord Willoughby, besides his being without much experience of the sea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the seamen were too much broke loose from the discipline of order, to be reduced by a commander of a lower rank. It was as true, that Prince Rupert was generally very ungracious in England, and by misfortune not to be much beloved by the King, and hated by the Parliament. This was a consideration that was foreseen: there was no other place to which the fleet must be carried, and the passage thither could not be made without respect that the Parliament was against it, and of the sea, (although in the

under the King's authority, and Sir John Greenvil being the governor thereof, made that passage something the more secure), therefore this purpose was to be concealed as the last secret; there being great danger that the seamen would rather carry all the ships back again to the Parliament, than into Ireland; against which people they had made a war at sea with circumstances very barbarous, for they had seldom given any quarter, but the Irish, as well merchants and passengers, as mariners, which fell into their hands, as hath been said before, were bound back to back, and thrown into the sea; so that they could have no inclination to go into a country whose people had been handled so cruelly by them.

Here again appeared another objection against the person of Prince Rupert, who would never endure to be subject to the command of the Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom: and yet it seemed most reasonable that the ships, whilst they stayed there, might be employed towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in rebellion: besides that there was cause to fear, that the Prince would not live with that amity towards the Marquis of Ormond, as was necessary for the public service. Notwithstanding all this, when the little stratagem of having Prince Rupert desired to take the command of the fleet upon him did not succeed, Prince Rupert himself made the proposition to the Prince to take the command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his Royal Highness would be pleased to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, necessity made that to be counsellable, against which very many reasonable objections might be made. So it was resolved that Prince Rupert should be Admiral of that fleet, and that it should sail for Ireland. And the charge and expedition appeared to be the more hopeful by the presence of good officers, who had long com-

Prince Rupert undertakes the command of the Prince's fleet.

commanded in the royal navy: Sir Thomas Kettleby, whom the Prince made captain of his own ship the *Antelope*; Sir John Mennes, who had the command of the *Swallow*, a ship of which he had been captain many years before; and Colonel Richard Fielding, who was made captain of the *Constant Reformation*; all worthy and faithful men to the King's service, of long experience in the service at sea, and well known and loved by the seamen. With these officers, and some other gentlemen, who were willing to spend their time in that service, Prince Rupert went to Helvoetsluys, where the ships lay, and seemed to be received by the fleet with great joy. They all bestirred themselves in their several places to get the ships ready for sea, and all those provisions which were necessary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

When they took a strict survey of the ships, the carpenters were all of opinion, "that the *Convertine*, a ship of the second rank, that carried seventy guns, was too old and decayed to be now set out in a winter voyage, and in so rough seas, and that when a great deal of money should be laid out to mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe." And it did appear, that when the officers of the navy had fitted her out at the beginning of the summer, they had declared, "that, when she came in again, she would not be fit for more use, but must be laid upon the stocks." Whereupon the ship was brought into Helvoetsluys, upon the next spring tide, and examined by the best Dutch carpenters and surveyors; and all being of the same mind, information was sent by Prince Rupert to the Prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the sale of the ordnance, and whatsoever else would yield money: all which was applied to the victualling and setting out the

the rest, without which no means could have been found to have done it; so much ill husbandry had been used, and so much direct cheating in the managing all the money that had been raised upon the prizes.

Prince Rupert remained all the time at Helvoetsluys, till all was ready to set sail, and had, with notable vigor and success, suppressed two or three mutinies, in one of which he had been compelled to throw two or three seamen overboard by the strength of his own arms. A subordinate officers were appointed, commissioners for the sale of all prize goods, and ships that should be taken, treasurers and paymasters for issuing and paying and receiving all monies; and an establishment for the whole too regular and strict to be observed: and though all persons employed were well known, and approved by Prince Rupert, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts and issues under his own management, and sole government. When all was ready he came to the Hague, to take leave of the Prince, and returned, and about the beginning of Set sail for Ireland in December. December he set sail for Ireland, met with good prizes in the way, and arrived safely at Kinsale: nor had he been long gone out of Holland, when the Prince had a shrewd evidence how unsecure a long abode would have been there, by some Parliament ships coming into that road, and sending their men on shore, who at noon-day burnt the Convertine within the very town of Helvoetsluys, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the affront offered to themselves, and their government.

In this calamitous state of affairs there seemed to be no hope left, but that by treaty the King might yet be restored to such a condition, that there might be those
roots

oots left in the Crown, from whence its former power and prerogative might sprout out hereafter, and flourish.

The commissioners for the treaty arrived in the Isle of Wight upon the fifteenth day of September, whilst Cromwell yet remained in his northern progress, and his army divided into several parts for the finishing his conquest; which was the reason that all they who wished ill to the treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had used and interposed all the delays they could, that he might return before it begun, as they who wished it might succeed well, were as solicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less to insist upon many particulars both in the propositions and the instructions, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies in the treaty than before it.

They stayed three days in the island before the treaty begun, which was time little enough to prepare the house for the King's reception at Newport, and adjusting many circumstances of the treaty. In that time they waited several times on the King, with great shew of outward duty and respect; and though none of them durst adventure to see the King in private, they communicated freely with some of those lords, and others, who, with the Parliament's leave, were come to attend the King during the time of the treaty. And so they found means to advertise his Majesty of many particulars, which they thought necessary for him to know; which made different impressions upon him, as the information proceeded from persons better or worse affected to him. And many of those who had liberty to attend, were competent considerers of the truth of what they said.

The truth is, there were amongst the commissioners many who had been carried with the violent

The commissioners
arrive in the
Isle of
Wight,
Sept. 15.

stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the King would very cheerfully have granted; an act of indemnity and oblivion being what they were principally concerned in. And of all the rest, who were more passionate for the militia, and against the Church, there was no man, except Sir Harry Vane, who did not desire that a peace might be established by that treaty. For as all the other lords desired, in their own natures and affections, no more than that their transgressions might never more be called to remembrance; so the Lord Say himself (who was as proud of his quality, and of being distinguished from other men by his title, as any man alive) well foresaw what would become of his peerage, if the treaty proved ineffectual, and the army should make their own model of the government they would submit to, (as undoubtedly they resolved shortly to do), and therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was proposed to him, and, afterwards, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his Majesty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections soever they were, was the same, "that his Majesty should, forthwith, and without delaying it to the expiration of the term assigned by the Parliament for the treaty," (which was forty days), "yield to the full demands which were made in the propositions." Their only argument was, "that, if he did not, or not do it quickly, the army would proceed their own way, and had enough declared, that they would depose the King, change the government, and settle a republic by their own rules and invention." And this advertisement was as well believed by those of the King's own party, as by the commissioners themselves.

Before the treaty begun, the commissioners made it known

known to the King, "that they could not admit that
 "any person should be present in the room where the
 "treaty should be in debate: that they were commif-
 "sioners sent from the Parliament to treat with his Ma-
 "jesty, and with him alone; and that they might not
 "permit any particular and private persons to oppose
 "or confer with them upon the demands of the Parlia-
 "ment." So that albeit the Parliament had given leave
 to the several Bishops, and other Divines, and to many
 Lawyers of eminency, to wait on his Majesty, upon his
 desire, that they might instruct and inform him in all
 difficult cases which related to religion or the law of the
 land, they were like to be of little use to him now they
 were come, if they might not be present at the debate,
 and offer such advice to his Majesty, as upon emergent
 occasions he should stand in need of, or require from
 them. At last they were contented, and his Majesty
 was obliged to be contented too, that they might stand
 behind a curtain, and hear all that was said, and when
 any such difficulty occurred as would require consulta-
 tion, his Majesty might retire to his chamber, and call
 those to him, with whom he would advise, to attend
 him, and might then return again into the room for the
 treaty, and declare his own resolution. This was the un-
equal and unreasonable preliminary and condition, to
which the King was compelled to submit before the
treaty could begin.

They who had not seen the King in a year's time
 (for it was little less from the time that he had left
 Hampton Court) found his countenance extremely al-
 tered. From the time that his own servants had been
 taken from him, he would never suffer his hair to be
 cut, nor cared to have any new clothes; so that his aspect
 and appearance was very different from what it had used

to be: otherwise, his health was good, and he was more cheerful in his discourses towards all men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of his kinds. He was not at all dejected in his spirits, but carried himself with the same majesty he had used to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very fair, made it thought that he had sorrow in his countenance which appeared only by that shadow.

Upon Monday the 18th of September, the treaty began, and the commissioners presented their commission to his Majesty, to treat with him personally upon the propositions presented formerly at Hampton Court, concerning the kingdom of England and Ireland only, and upon such propositions as should be offered either by his Majesty, or the two Houses of Parliament according to their instructions, &c. Though the King knew very well, that Cromwell had so totally subdued Scotland, that he had not left any man there in the least authority or power, who did so much as pretend to wish well to him, and that, in truth, Cromwell had as much the command there as Argyle himself had, who was but his creature, yet, either to recover their broken spirits, or to manifest his own royal compassion for them, he told the commissioners, “that, when the
“propositions had been delivered to him at Hampton
“Court, the Scottish interest was so involved in them
“that it could be hardly separable from that of Eng-
“land: that it concerned him, as King of both king-
“doms, to be just and equal between both; and that
“though they had no authority to treat for any thing
“but what related to England, yet he, who was to pro-
“vide for the public peace, (which could hardly be pro-
“vided for, except the Scots were comprehended in
“this treaty), did desire, that they would send to the

“two

“ two Houses of Parliament, to give a pass for one of
 “ his servants to go into Scotland, to invite the Council
 “ there to send somebody authorized by that kingdom,
 “ who might treat with the commissioners of Parlia-
 “ ment :” and to that purpose his Majesty delivered
 them a paper in writing to be sent by them to the Par-
 liament, telling them at the same time, “ that it was
 “ never his desire or meaning, that they should meddle
 “ in the government of England, but only should treat
 “ concerning the peace, to the end that that might be
 “ durable.” But the commissioners alleged, that “ it
 “ was not in their power to receive and transmit that, or
 “ any other paper, to the Parliament, that referred to
 “ that kingdom ; and they besought him to give them
 “ leave, as an evidence of their duty, to inform him of
 “ what ill consequence the transmission of that paper at
 “ that time might be to the treaty itself.” Whereupon
 he declined sending it by a messenger of his own for the
 present, (which he intended to have done), being unwill-
 ing to give any occasion of dispute or jealousy so early,
 and believing that after he should have gotten a good
 understanding with the two Houses, in what was of im-
 mediate concernment to England, he should more ef-
 fectually transmit that, or any other paper, for the more
 easy composing the affairs of Scotland.

Then they presented their first proposition to his Ma-
 jesty ; “ that he would revoke all declarations, and
 “ commissions granted heretofore by him against the
 “ Parliament.” Whereupon his Majesty desired, “ that
 “ he might see all the propositions, they had to make to
 “ him, together ; that he might the better consider
 “ what satisfaction he could give them upon the whole :”
 which they would not yield to without much importu-
 nity, and at last delivered them with reluctancy, as a
 thing

The first
 proposition
 for revoking
 all his Ma-
 jesty's de-
 clarations,
 &c.

thing they were not sure they ought to do. And though their commission referred to instructions, and his Majesty desired that he might have a view of those, they peremptorily refused to let him have a sight of them; and only told him, "that they were directed by their instructions, first to treat upon the proposition they had already presented to him, concerning the revocation of the declarations, &c. and in the next place, of the Church, then of the militia, and fourthly of Ireland, and afterwards of the rest of the propositions in order;" and they declared likewise that, by their instructions, they were not to enter upon any new propositions, before they should have received his Majesty's final answer to what was first proposed."

Hereupon the King demanded of them, "whether they had power and authority to recede from any particular contained in their propositions, or to consent to any alterations, if his Majesty should give them good reason so to do?" To which they answered very magisterially, "that they were ready to debate, to shew how reasonable their desires were, and that there could be no reason why they should alter or recede from them; but if his Majesty did satisfy them, they should do therein as they were warranted by their instructions."

These limitations and restrictions in a matter of that importance, which contained a new frame of government, and an alteration of all civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, almost damped and stifled all the hope his Majesty had entertained of good from this treaty. However, he resolved to try if consenting to the substantial part of any proposition would give them satisfaction; and so, without taking notice of the preamble of that proposition, which they had delivered to him, he declared

declared in writing, which he delivered to them, "that ^{His Majesty's answer to it.} he was willing to grant the body of their proposition, " that was to recall all declarations, &c." But they immediately returned another paper to him, in which they said, "his Majesty had left unanswered the most essential part of their proposition," repeating the words in the preamble, which recited, "that the two Houses of Parliament had been necessitated to enter into a war in their just and lawful defence; and that the kingdom of England had entered into a solemn league and covenant to prosecute the same;" and so justifying all that had been done, &c. To all which they very vehemently pressed "his Majesty's approbation and consent, as the most necessary foundation of a lasting peace, and the indispensable expectation of the two Houses and of the whole kingdom; and that the two Houses, and the kingdom, could not decline this particular demand, without which they could not believe themselves to be in any security; since, by the letter of the law, they who had adhered to the Parliament, might seem guilty of raising war against the King, and so to be guilty of high treason by the statute of the 25th year of King Edward the Third: whereas by the construction and equity thereof they were justified; and therefore that the consenting to this preamble was so essential, that without it the Parliament would be thought guilty; which they hoped his Majesty did not desire it should." And that this might make the deeper impression upon him, the Lord Say, in the debate of it, twice repeated, with more passion than was natural to his constitution, "that he did tremble to think how sad the consequence would be, if what they now pressed should be denied." And others said, that it was no more than his Majesty had heretofore granted

" in

“ in the Act of Indemnity that he had passed in Scotland; and if he should now refuse to do it in England. “ there would be a speedy end put to the treaty, without entering upon any of the other propositions.” The King was so much perplexed and offended with this haughty way of reasoning, that he told those with whom he consulted, and writ the same to the Prince his son, “ that the long restraint he had endured in the castle of “ Carisbrook, was not a greater evidence of the captivity of his person, nor was he more sensible of it, than “ this was of the captivity of his mind, by his being “ forced to decline those answers and arguments which “ were proper to the support of his cause, and which “ must have brought blushes over the faces of the commissioners, and to frame others more seasonable and fit “ to be offered to men in that condition from him who “ was to receive, and not give conditions.”

Dispute
concerning
the preamble
of it.

However, this proposition was of so horrid and monstrous a nature, so contrary to the known truth, and so destructive to justice and government, that it seemed to naturalize rebellion, and to make it current in the kingdom to all posterity, that his Majesty could not forbear to tell them, “ that no act of Parliament could make “ that to be true, which was notoriously known to be “ false; that this treaty must be the foundation of the “ future peace and security, and what was herein provided for both could never be called in question; that “ he was most willing, that it should be made very penal “ to every man to reproach another for any thing he “ had done during the late troubles, upon what provocation soever.” He put them in mind, “ that it was “ well known to some of them, that the Act of Indemnity in Scotland was passed when his Majesty was not “ there, nor any commissioner appointed by him; that “ it

“ it was prepared and drawn by his Attorney General
 “ of that kingdom, who was then of the party that was
 “ against his Majesty ; and therefore it was no wonder
 “ that he called those of his own side, loyal subjects,
 “ and good Christians, in the preamble of that Act ;
 “ which was never seen by his Majesty, though it was
 “ confirmed indeed, with the other Acts which had
 “ passed in that disorderly time, by his Majesty upon
 “ the conclusion of the peace, and their return to their
 “ obedience ; and that, when that should be the case
 “ here, he would give them all the appellations they
 “ should desire, and as unquestionable security as they
 “ could wish.” To all which they made no other reply,
 and that unanimously, “ but that they could not believe
 “ themselves secure, if that preamble was not entirely
 “ consented to.”

This refractory obstinate adherence of the commis-
 sioners to their own will, without any shadow of reason,
 prevailed nothing upon the King ; inasmuch as he was
 inclined to run the hazard of the present dissolution of
 the treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniences and
 mischiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to
 sacrifice his honour, and the justice of his cause, to
 their insolent demand, until he had entered into a serious
 deliberation with those persons who were about him, of
 whose affections to him he had all assurance, and of the
 great abilities and understanding of most of them he had
 a very just esteem. They all represented to him, from
 the conference they had with such of the commissioners,
 who, they were confident, spoke to them as they thought
 and believed, “ that if there were no expedient found
 “ out to give more satisfaction upon this first proposi-
 “ tion, than his Majesty had yet offered, as soon as the
 “ commissioners should give account of it to the two

“ Houses, they would be presently recalled ; and the
 “ treaty be at an end : and then it would be universally
 “ declared and believed, how untrue soever the assertion
 “ was, that the King refused to secure the Parliament
 “ and all who had adhered to them, from a prosecution
 “ by law ; upon which they thought it to no purpose to
 “ proceed farther in the treaty : whereas if his Majesty
 “ had condescended to them in that particular, which
 “ concerned the lives and fortunes of their whole party
 “ in the kingdom, they would have given him such sa-
 “ tisfaction in all other particulars, as a full and happy
 “ peace must have ensued.”

Then the lawyers informed him, “ that his giving
 “ way to a recital in a new law, which was not a decla-
 “ ratory law of what the law was formerly in being,
 “ concerning the business in question, and only in a pre-
 “ amble to a law for recalling declarations, &c. did not
 “ make their actions lawful, if they were not so before :
 “ nor did it take away from those who had adhered to
 “ him, any defence or benefit the former laws had given
 “ to them ; nor would his party be in a worse condition
 “ than they had always been : for his Majesty had al-
 “ ways offered, in all his declarations, that they who fol-
 “ lowed him, and who were by them called Delinquents,
 “ should, at all times, submit to a trial by the laws of
 “ the land, and if they should be found guilty of any
 “ crime, they should not be protected by him. And it
 “ was evident, by their not prosecuting any one, since
 “ they were fallen into their hands, in any legal way,
 “ that they do not think their transgressions can be pu-
 “ nished by law.”

Upon these reasons, and the joint advice and impor-
 tunity of all about him, as well the divines as the law-
 yers, the King first delivered a paper in writing to the
 com-

commissioners, in which he declared, "that nothing that
 " should be put in writing concerning any proposition,
 " or part of any proposition, should be binding, preju-
 " dicial, or made use of, if the treaty should break off
 " without effect : " and the commissioners presented an-
 other paper in writing, in which they fully consented to
 that declaration, in the very terms of the said declara-
 tion. Thereupon the King consented to pass the first
 proposition, with the preamble to it, albeit, he said, " that ^{The King}
^{consents to}
 " he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to ;
 " yet he hoped his good subjects would confess that it
 " was but a part of the price he had paid for their be-
 " nefit, and the peace of his dominions."

The first proposition being thus consented to as they ^{The second}
 could wish, they delivered their second concerning Reli- ^{proposition}
 gion and the Church ; which comprehended " the utter ^{concerning}
 " abolishing episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised ^{Religion}
^{and the}
^{Church.}
 " by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, and
 " alienating their lands, which should be sold to the use
 " and benefit of the commonwealth ; the Covenant ;
 " which was presented to his Majesty to take himself,
 " and to impose upon all others : the Common-Prayer
 " and public Liturgy of the Church to be abolished,
 " and taken away ; and that the reformation of Religion,
 " according to the Covenant, in such manner as both
 " Houses had, or should agree, after consultation with
 " divines, should be settled by Act of Parliament : "
 which, the King told them, " exceeded the implicit
 " faith of the Church of Rome ; which rather obliges
 " her profelytes to what she does hold, than to what she
 " shall." It required " the establishing the Presbyterian
 " government, the Directory, the Articles of Christian
 " Religion," (a body whereof they presented), " the sup-
 " pressing innovations in churches ; for the better ad-
 " vancement

“vancement of preaching, the observation of the Lord’s day; a Bill against Pluralities and Non-residency; several Acts against Papists; and the taking and imposing the Covenant.”

This pregnant proposition, containing so many monstrous particulars, sufficiently warned his Majesty, how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all; and therefore having, by consenting to the entire first proposition, put it out of their power to break off the treaty, and to tell the people, “that the King, at the entrance into it, had denied to give them any security for their lives and fortunes,” he thought it now fit to offer to the commissioners a proposition of his own, that both the Parliament, and the people, might clearly discern how much of his own right and dignity he would sacrifice for their peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour, upon one single proposition, or part of a proposition, to break the treaty.

The King offers a proposition of his own; which the commissioners refuse to send to the Houses.

His own proposition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. “That he might enjoy his liberty: 2. That his revenue might be restored to him: 3. That an act of oblivion might pass:” which, he very well knew, would be most grateful to those who seemed to value it least, as it would exempt his own friends from any illegal and unjust vexations.

The commissioners absolutely refused to send it to the Houses, though they had no authority to answer it themselves. They said, “it rather contained an answer to all their propositions, than was a single proposition of his own; and that the sole end of making it was to cajole the people;” which, the King told them, “better became him to do than any body else.” But when they peremptorily refused to transmit it to the Houses,

Houses, the King sent an express of his own to deliver ^{The King sends it by messengers of his own, but it is voted unsatisfactory.} it ; which being done, after some days deliberation, the Houses return no other answer to the King, " than that " his proposition was not satisfactory." In the mean time the commissioners pressed for his answer to the first part of their proposition, for the abolishing of bishops. It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down at large the dispute, and arguments which were used on both sides upon this subject. The commissioners, who would not suffer any of the King's servants to be so much as present when any thing of the treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose their own clergy upon the King ; who was much better versed in the argument than they were.

That which they urged most, was the common allegation, " that bishop and presbyter in the Scripture ^{Their ministers dispute with the King about the bishops.} " language signified one and the same thing : that, if " the Apostles exercised a larger jurisdiction, it had been " granted to them as Apostles, and concerned not their " successors, to whom no such authority had been granted, nor any superiority over other presbyters, who " were of the same function with them." Then they inveighed vehemently against " lords bishops ; their " pride, and lustre ;" and they all behaved themselves with that rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a king, no more than to a bishop. And two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, " that if " he did not consent to the utter abolishing of ^{episcopacy} " pacy, he would be damned ;" with which his Majesty was not moved. The men, Jenkins and Spurston, lived after the return of King Charles the Second, according to the modesty of that race of people, and, acknowledging his Majesty's hand, and continued ^{the same} zeal in all seditious attempts.

The King pressed them with those texts of Scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *jus divinum* of bishops, the authority of the Fathers, and the government of all Christian churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the Church of England, before and since the Reformation, by constant and uniform practice and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by bishops. The commissioners relieved their ill mannered clergy, and urged, "that whatsoever was not of divine institution might very lawfully be altered; for if it had its original from men, it might by men be changed, or reversed: that episcopacy as it was established in the Church by the laws of England, was not that episcopacy that was mentioned or prescribed in Scripture; and therefore the laws which supported it might be justly taken away; which, they said, was the reason that had induced many men who were not enemies to episcopacy, to take the Covenant; which obliged them to take the present hierarchy away."

In a word they urged "the practice of other reformed churches, and that his Majesty insisting upon the preservation of episcopacy, as essentially necessary, was to reproach and condemn them." To which he answered, "that both Calvin and Beza, and most learned men of the reformed churches, had approved and commended the episcopal government in England; and many of them had bewailed themselves, that they were not permitted to retain that government."

Besides all their arguments in public, which his Majesty with wonderful acuteness fully answered, and delivered his answers in writing to them, (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto), they found means in private to advertise the King, that is, such of them

them who were known to wish well to him, “ that they
“ were of his Majesty’s judgment with reference to the
“ government, which they hoped might yet be pre-
“ served, but not by the method his Majesty pursued :
“ that all the reasonable hope of preserving the Crown,
“ was in dividing the Parliament from the army ; which
“ could be only done by his giving satisfaction in what
“ was demanded with reference to the Church ; which
“ would unite the Parliament in itself, some few persons
“ excepted, and the city to the Parliament ; where the
“ Presbyterians were most powerful ; and this being
“ done, the Parliament would immediately have power
“ to reform their army, and to disband those who
“ would not be reformed : that then the King would be
“ removed to London, to perfect that by his own pre-
“ sence in Parliament, which should be prepared by this
“ treaty ; and then the wording those bills, and the
“ formality of passing them, would give opportunity for
“ many alterations ; which, being now attempted, would
“ destroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the army ;
“ which would destroy the King : but then, what the
“ King urged as matter of conscience in himself would
“ find respect, reverence, and concurrence.” No doubt
they, who did make these insinuations, did in truth be-
lieve themselves ; and did think, as well as wish, that
the sequel would be such as they foretold. But that
which had more authority with the King, and which
nobody about him could put him in mind of, because
none of them had been privy to it, was the remem-
brance of what he had promised concerning the Church
to the Scots, in the engagement at the Isle of Wight ;
which he could not but conclude was well known to
many of the Presbyterians in England : and he thought,
that whatever he had promised to do then, upon the
bare

“ every county should be the standing militia of the kingdom, to be drawn out of the counties upon any occasions which should occur ;” which would prevent all excessive taxes and impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly discerned that such a proposition would be presently called a conspiracy against the army, and so put an end to all other expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant power in such a manner, that it might not appear so monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever ; and therefore proposed, “ that none should be compelled to serve in the war against their wills, but in case of an invasion by foreign enemies : that the power concerning the land forces should be exercised to no other purposes, than for the suppressing of forces which might at any time be raised without the authority and consent of the Lords and Commons, and for the keeping up and maintaining the forts and garrisons, and the present army, so long as it should be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament : that what monies should at any time be thought necessary to be raised, should be raised by general and equal taxes, and impositions ; and lastly, that all patents and commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the King’s name, by warrant signified by the Lords and Commons, or such other signification as they should direct and authorize.”

The King’s
answer.

This voted
by the Par-
liament un-
satisfactory

These limitations were sent to the Parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, soon voted “ that the message was unsatisfactory.” Hereupon, that he might at least leave some monument and record of his care and tenderness of his people, (for, after his extorted concessions to the so great prejudice of the Church, he never considered what might be dangerous

to

to his own person), he delivered his consent to the proposition itself to the commissioners, with a preamble to this purpose; "that whereas their proposition concern-^{The King consents to it with a preamble.} ing the militia required a far larger power over the persons and estates of his subjects, than had been ever hitherto warranted by the laws and statutes of the kingdom, yet in regard the present distractions might require more, and trusting in his two Houses of Parliament, that they would make no farther use of the power therein mentioned, after the present distempers should be settled, than should be agreeable to the legal exercise thereof in times past, and for the purposes particularly mentioned in their proposition, and to give satisfaction to his two Houses of Parliament that he intends a full security to them, and to express his real desires to settle the peace of the kingdom, his Majesty doth consent to the proposition concerning the militia as it was desired." This the commissioners did by no means like, nor would acquiesce in, and alleged, "that as the concession must be the subject of an Act of Parliament, so this preamble must be a part of it, and would administer occasion of difference and dispute upon the interpretation of it; which being a clearly foreseen, ought not to be admitted in any Act of Parliament, much less in such a one as is to be the principal foundation of a lasting peace of the kingdom." After much vexation of this kind, and opportunity of friends, as well as of enemies, and most as weary of denying as of granting, the preamble to be left out, and his consent given without it.

It may be well wondered at, that the King complied with these three propositions, without any pause or hesitation in the manner.

in that concerning the Church, and the other concerning the militia, both the Church and the militia of Ireland followed the fate of England, and were in effect comprehended in the same propositions: so that there remained nothing more with reference to that kingdom,

The fourth
proposition
concerning
Ireland.

“ but declaring the peace that was made there with the
“ Irish, to be void;” which they pressed with the
same passion, as if they had obtained nothing; although
his Majesty referred the carrying on the war to them,
and told them, “ that he knew nothing of the peace,
“ which had been made during his imprisonment, when
“ he could receive no advertisement of what was doing,
“ or done; and therefore he was content that it should
“ be broken, and the war be carried on in such a man-
“ ner as should please them;” which was all one to their
ends and purposes, as what they desired. But this did
by no means please them. If the peace were not de-
clared to be actually void, they could not so easily take
that vengeance of the Marquis of Ormond as they re-
solved to do. Yet after all these general concessions,
which so much concerned himself, and the public, and
when the necessity that had obliged him to that unwilling
compliance, might well have excused him for satisfying
them in all the rest of their demands, when they pressed
his consent to what only concerned private and particu-
lar persons, as the revoking all honours and grants of
offices which he had conferred upon those who had
served him faithfully, and to except many of them
from pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censure
of the two Houses, both for their lives and fortunes; to
submit others to pay, for their delinquency in obey-
ing and serving him, a full moiety of all they were
worth; to deprive others of their practice in their
several professions, and functions, (which exposed all
the

the lawyers and divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin), it cannot be expressed with what grief and trouble of mind he received those importunities; and, without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died, than submitted to it; but the argument, "that he had done so much," was now pressed upon him, (by his friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it), "that he should do more; and since he had" "condescended to many things which gave himself no" "satisfaction, he would give so full satisfaction to the" "Parliament, that he might receive that benefit, and" "the kingdom that peace and security he desired."

Some other particulars the King at first sticks at:

Many advertisements came from his friends in London, and from other places, "that it was high time that" "the treaty were at an end, and that the Parliament" "had all his Majesty's answers before them, to determine what they would do upon them, before the" "army drew nearer London, which, infallibly, it would" "shortly do, as soon as those in the North had finished" "their work." It was now near the end of October, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the treaty was the fourth of November; and so after all importunities, as well of those who were to suffer, as of those who were to triumph in their sufferings, his Majesty's consent was procured to most that was demanded in the rest of the propositions; the King, and all men, conceiving the treaty to be at an end.

But consents at last.

The King had, about the middle of October, again delivered his own proposition for his liberty, his revenue, and an act of oblivion, to the commissioners; which they received. And though, at the beginning of the treaty, they had refused to transmit it to the Houses, yet now, after so many concessions, they thought fit to send

The commissioners now send the King's own proposition to the Parliament.

send it; and did so as soon as they received it. But no answer was returned. Hereupon, when the treaty was within two days of expiring, his Majesty demanded of them, "whether they had received any instructions to treat upon, or to give an answer to his own proposition, which he had delivered to them so long since? or whether they had received any order to prolong the treaty?" To which they answered, "they had not as to either." And when he asked them the same question, the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same answer. So that the whole forty days assigned for the treaty were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any answer to the single proposition the King had made to them. However they told him, "they had received new command to make fresh instance to his Majesty, that he would forthwith publish a declaration against the Marquis of Ormond; who had very lately declared, that he had authority to make a peace with the Irish rebels; and was then treating with them to that purpose." To which his Majesty answered, "that it was not reasonable to press him to publish any declaration against the Marquis; since that if the treaty should end happily, the desires of the two Houses were satisfied by the concessions he had already made;" and so adhered to his first answer. And conceiving the treaty to be closed, he desired the commissioners, "that since he had departed from so much of his own right to give his two Houses satisfaction, they would be a means that he might be pressed no farther; since the few things he had not satisfied them in had so near relation to his conscience, that, with the peace of that, he could not yield farther; and desired them to use the same eloquence, and abilities, by which they had prevailed with him, in representing

They require a declaration of the King against the Marquis of Ormond.

His Majesty's answer.

“ representing to the two Houses the sad condition of the kingdom, if it were not preserved by this treaty.” And so concluded with many gracious expressions for their personal civilities, and other kind expressions; which made impression upon all of them who had any bowels.

All this being past, and the King believing and expecting that the commissioners would take their leave of him the next morning, they came the same night to inform him, “ that they had then received new orders “ and instructions for the continuing and enlarging the “ treaty for fourteen days longer;” for which his Majesty was nothing glad; nor did they in the Houses who wished well to him desire that prolongation. For it was easily discerned, that it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did not intend that the treaty itself should have any good effect; which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the army not having yet finished what they were to do in all places; and was consented to unskilfully, by those who thought the continuance of the treaty was the best sign that both sides desired peace: and it quickly appeared, by the new instances they made, that delay was their only business. The commissioners, with new importunity and bitterness, begun upon their new instructions “ that “ the King would immediately publish the declaration “ against the Marquis of Ormond,” without any other reasons than those which he had answered before. His Majesty answered, “ there was no other difference between them but in point of time, whether presently, “ or at the conclusion of the peace: upon the peace, they “ had the substance of their desire already granted; and “ if there were no peace, they had reason to believe “ that no declaration he should make would be believed

The Parliament enlarges the treaty fourteen days longer.

The commissioners renew their demand about Ormond.

His Majesty's answer.

"or obeyed;" and so adhered to what he had answered formerly.

They urge
farther
about the
Church.

Then they declared, "that the Parliament was not satisfied with his concessions with reference to the Church; that the Presbyterian government could be exercised with little profit, or comfort, if it should appear to be so short-lived as to continue but for three years; and that they must therefore press the utter extirpating the function of bishops." Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their lands was insisted on; whereas by the King's concessions the old rent was still reserved to them. They said, "the Parliament did not intend to force, but only to rectify his conscience;" and, to that end, they added more reasons to convince him in the several points. They repeated their old distinction between the Scripture-bishop, and the bishop by law. For the absolute alienation of their lands, they urged many precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or necessity, not so visible and manifest as appeared at present; and concluded with their usual threat, "that the consequence of his denial would be the continuance of the public disturbances."

The King's
answer.

To all which his Majesty answered, "that, for the Presbyterian government, they might remember that their own first order for the settling it, was only for three years; which they then thought a competent time for a probationary law, that contained such an alteration in the State; and therefore they ought to think the same now: and that it might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that time bear the test and examination of it; and that nothing could be a greater honour to that discipline, than its being able to bear that test and examination." He said,
"he

" he was well pleased with their expression, that they
 " did not intend to force his conscience ; yet the man-
 " ner of pressing him looked very like it, after he had
 " so solemnly declared that it was against his conscience;
 " that he did concur with them in their distinction of
 " bishops, and if they would preserve the Scripture-
 " bishop, he would take away the bishop by law." He
 confessed, " that necessity might justify or excuse many
 " things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the
 " Church of God of an order instituted for continual
 " use, and for establishing a succession of lawful ministers
 " in the Church." For the point of sacrilege, he said,
 " the concurrent opinion of all divines was a much
 " better information to his conscience, what is sacrilege,
 " than any precedents or law of the land could be."
 Upon the whole matter, he adhered to his former an-
 swer in all the particulars, and concluded, " that he
 " could with more comfort cast himself upon God's
 " goodness to support him in, and defend him from, all
 " afflictions, how great soever, that might befall him,
 " than deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of his
 " mind, for any politic consideration that might seem to
 " be a means to restore him."

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when the
 treaty was to end, they delivered to the King the votes
 which the two Houses had passed concerning and upon
 his own message, (which had lain so long in their hands
 unanswered), which were in effect, 1. " That from and af-
 " ter such time as the agreements upon this treaty should
 " be ratified by Acts of Parliament, all his houses, The Parlia-
ment's
votes upon
the King's
former pro-
position.
 " manors, and lands, with the growing rents and profits
 " thereof, and all other legal revenue of the Crown
 " should be restored to him, liable to the maintenance

“ of those ancient forts, and castles, and such other legal
 “ charges as they were formerly charged withal, or li-
 “ able to. 2. That he should be then likewise referred
 “ in a condition of honour, freedom, and safety, agree-
 “ able to the laws of the land. 3. That an act of in-
 “ demnity should be then passed with such exceptions
 “ and limitations as should be agreed upon, with this
 “ addition, that it should be declared by Act of Parlia-
 “ ment, that nothing contained in his Majesty’s propo-
 “ sitions should be understood or made use of to abro-
 “ gate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any agree-
 “ ment in this treaty, or any law, grant, or commission
 “ agreed upon by his Majesty and the two Houses of
 “ Parliament, in pursuance thereof;” in all which his
 Majesty acquiesced.

The time limited for the prolongation of the treaty was to end upon the one and twentieth of November; and the commissioners believed it so absolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the King, and early the next morning went to Cowes harbour to embark themselves. But the tide not serving to transport them out of the island, that night a messenger arrived with directions to them to continue the treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they returned and acquainted his Majesty with it.

Another
 prolonga-
 tion of the
 treaty till
 Nov. 25.

The decla-
 ration of
 the army.

At the same time, the thundering declaration of the army was published; which declared the full resolution
 “ to change the whole frame of the government, and
 “ that they would be contented with no less an altera-
 “ tion;” which, as it was an argument to the King to
 endeavour all he could to unite the two Houses, that
 they might be able to bear that shock, so it was ex-
 pected

pected that it would have been no less an argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, since their interest was no less threatened than his.

The fresh instances the commissioners made were upon several votes which had passed the two Houses against Delinquents; and a new proposition concerning those who had engaged themselves against the Parliament since the last January, and particularly against the Marquis of Ormond. They proposed, "that there should be seven persons, the Lord Newcastle, and six others," (who were named), "who should be excepted from pardon, and their estates forfeited: that the Delinquents, in the several classes mentioned in their proposition, should pay for their composition, some a moiety, others a third part of their estates, and other rates, as they were set down; and that all who had been engaged in the land or sea service since January 1647, should pay a full year's value of their whole estates more than the other Delinquents; and that none who had been against the Parliament should presume to come within either of the Courts belonging to the King, Queen, or Prince, or be capable of any office or preferment, or of serving in Parliament, for the space of three years; and that all clergymen who had been against the Parliament should be deprived of all their preferments, places, and promotions; which should be all void as if they were naturally dead." To these the King answered, The King's answer. that, "to the excepting the seven persons named from pardon, and the forfeiture of their estates, his answer was, that, if they were proceeded against according to the ancient established laws, and could not justify and defend themselves, he would not interpose on their behalf; but he could not, in justice or honour, join

“ join himself in any act for taking away the life or
 “ estate of any that had adhered to him. For the rates
 “ which were to be paid for composition, he referred it
 “ to the two Houses of Parliament, and to the persons
 “ themselves, who would be contented to pay it ; and
 “ he did hope and desire, that they might be moderately
 “ dealt with.” And for the clergymen, whose prefer-
 ments he well knew were already disposed of, and in
 the hands of another kind of clergy, who had deserved
 so well of the Parliament, that it would not be in his
 power to dispossess them, his Majesty desired, “ that
 “ they might be allowed a third part of what was taken
 “ from them, till such time that they, or the present in-
 “ cumbents, should be better provided for.” As to the
 Marquis of Ormond, against whom they pressed what
 they had before done with extraordinary animosity, the
 King answered, “ that since what he had said before”
 (and which would bring all to pass that they desired)
 “ did not give them satisfaction, he had written a letter,”
 (which he delivered to them, to be sent, and read to
 them); “ in which he directed him to desist ; and said,
 “ if he refused to submit to his command, he would
 “ then publish such a declaration against his power and
 “ his proceedings, as they desired.”

Another
 prolonga-
 tion of the
 treaty for a
 day, where-
 in they pre-
 sent two
 proposi-
 tions more.

And now the second limitation of time for the treaty
 was at an end. But that night came another vote ;
 which continued it for a day longer, with a command
 to the commissioners to return on Thursday morning ;
 which was the eight and twentieth of November : and
 thereupon they presented two propositions to his Ma-
 jesty, which were to be dispatched that day.

One con-
 cerning
 Scotland.

The two propositions they sent for one day's work
 were, the first, concerning Scotland ; the other, con-
 cerning the Church ; which they did not think they
 had

had yet destroyed enough. For Scotland, they demanded "the King's consent, to confirm by Act of Parliament such agreements as should be made by both Houses with that kingdom, in the security of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the Parliament of England, and for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for the mutual defence of each other." The King put them in mind, "that at the beginning of the treaty they had informed him, that their commission was only to treat concerning England and Ireland; and that they had no authority to meddle in any thing that related to Scotland; and that they had thereupon refused to receive a paper from him, which was to preserve the interest of that kingdom; and demanded of them, whether their commission was enlarged;" which they confessed "was not; and that they had presented that paper only in obedience to the order they had received." So that the King easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish, "that the King had rejected whatsoever was tendered to him on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland." To prevent which, he answered, "that as he would join in any agreement, to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for their mutual defence of each other under him as King of both; so he would secure all who had been formerly engaged with them: but for any new engagement, or confederacy, which they would make hereafter, he would first know what it was, and be advised with in the making it, before he would promise to confirm it." The other business with reference to the Church

To that the
King's answer.

gave him much more trouble. The commissioners pressed him "to consider the exigence of time, and "that there was not a whole day left to determine the "fate of the kingdom; and that nothing could unite "the counsels of those who wished and desired peace, "and to live happily under his subjection and obedience, against the bold attempts of the army, which "had enough declared and manifested what their intention was, but satisfying the Houses fully in what "they demanded in that particular." His own Council, and the Divines, besought him "to consider the "safety of his own person, even for the Church's and his "people's sakes, who had some hope still left whilst he "should be preserved, which could not but be attended "with many blessings: whereas, if he were destroyed, "there was scarce a possibility to preserve them: that "the moral and unavoidable necessity that lay upon "him, obliged him to do any thing that was not sin; "and that, upon the most prudential thoughts which "occurred to them, the order which he, with so much "piety and zeal, endeavoured to preserve, was much "more like to be destroyed by his not complying, than "by his suspending it till his Majesty and his two "Houses should agree upon a future government; "which, they said, much differed from an abolition of "it."

The King's
final answer.

Hereupon he gave them his final answer, "that after "such condescensions, and weighed resolutions in the "business of the Church, he had expected not to be "farther pressed therein; it being his judgment, and "his conscience." He said, "he could not, as he was "then informed, abolish episcopacy out of the Church; "yet, because he apprehended how fatal new distractions might be to the kingdom, and that he believed "his

“ his two Houses would yield to truth, if it were made
 “ manifest to them, as he had always declared that he
 “ would comply with their demands, if he were con-
 “ vinced in his conscience, he did therefore again desire
 “ a consultation with divines, in the manner he had be-
 “ fore proposed, and would in the mean time suspend
 “ the episcopal power, as well in point of ordination of
 “ ministers, as of jurisdiction, till he and the two
 “ Houses should agree what government should be
 “ established for the future. For bishops' lands, he
 “ could not consent to the absolute alienation of them
 “ from the Church, but would consent that leases for
 “ lives, or years, not exceeding ninety-nine, should be
 “ made for the satisfaction of purchasers or contractors;”
 little differing from the answer he had formerly given
 to this last particular: and in all the rest he adhered
 to his former answers. And the commissioners, hav-
 ing received this his final answer, took their leaves,
 and the next morning begun their journey towards
 London.

The King had begun a letter to the Prince his son
 before the first forty days were expired, and continued
 it, as the treaty was lengthened, even to the hour it was
 concluded, and finished it the nine and twentieth of
 November, after the commissioners were departed, and
 with it sent a very exact copy of all the papers which
 had passed in the treaty, in the order in which they
 were passed, fairly engrossed by one of the clerks who
 attended. But the letter itself was all in his own hand,
 and contained above six sheets of paper; in which he
 made a very particular relation of all the motives and
 reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to
 make those concessions; out of which most of this re-
 lation is extracted. And it is almost evident, that the
 major

The sum of
 the King's
 letter to his
 son con-
 cerning the
 whole trea-
 ty.

major part of both Houses of Parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the army, they would have been themselves suitors to have declined the greatest part of them. That which seemed to afflict him most, next what referred to the Church and Religion, and which, he said, "had a large share in his conscientious considerations," was the hard measure his friends were subjected to; for whose interest he did verily believe he should better provide in the execution of the treaty, than he had been able to do in the preliminaries. For, he said, "he could not but think, that all who were willing that he should continue their King, and to live under his government, would be far from desiring in the conclusion to leave so foul a brand upon his party, of which they would all desire to be accounted for the time to come. However, he hoped that all his friends would consider, not what he had submitted to, but how much he had endeavoured to relieve them from;" and conjured the Prince his son, "that the less he had been able himself to do for them, the more, if God blessed him, he should acknowledge and supply." He said, "he would willingly forget in how high degree some subjects had been disloyal, but never had Prince a testimony in others of more loyalty than he had had; and however that God, for their and his punishment, had not blessed some of their endeavours, yet, he said, more misguided persons were at last reduced to their loyalty, than could in any story be exemplified; and that, by that, subjects might learn how dangerous the neglect of seasonable duty is; and that men cannot easily fix when they please what they have unnecessarily shaken." The conclusion

sion of the letter, as it was dated, the five and twentieth of November, (what was added to it after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional passages upon the enlargement of time), deserves to be preserved in letters of gold, and gives the best character of that excellent Prince; and was in these words.

“ By what hath been said, you see how long we have
 “ laboured in the search of peace: do not you be dis- The con-
 clusion of
 that letter is
 the King's
 own words.
 “ heartened to tread in the same steps. Use all worthy
 “ ways to restore yourself to your right, but prefer the
 “ way of peace: shew the greatness of your mind, if
 “ God bless you, (and let us comfort you with that
 “ which is our own comfort, that though affliction may
 “ make us pass under the censures of men, yet we look
 “ upon it so, as if it procure not, by God's mercy, to us
 “ a deliverance, it will to you a blessing), rather to
 “ conquer your enemies by pardoning, than punishing. —
 “ If you saw how unmanly and unchristian the impla-
 “ cable disposition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid
 “ that spirit. Censure us not for having parted with so
 “ much of our own right; the price was great, but the
 “ commodity was security to us, peace to our people:
 “ and we were confident, another Parliament would re-
 “ member how useful a King's power is to a people's
 “ liberty; of how much thereof we divested ourself,
 “ that we and they might meet once again in a due
 “ parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of Prince and
 “ people. And in this give belief to our experience,
 “ that which is really and intrinsically prerogative, than
 “ of subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites for the good
 “ thus use it, you will never want means to be a father
 “ to all, and a bountiful Prince to any you would.”

“ extraordinary gracious to. You may perceive all
“ men entrust their treasure where it returns them inter-
“ est; and if Princes, like the sea, receive, and repay all
“ the fresh streams the river entrusts with them, they
“ will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them
“ up an ocean. These considerations may make you a
“ great a Prince, as your father is now a low one; and
“ your State may be so much the more established, as
“ mine hath been shaken. For our subjects have
“ learned (we dare say) that victories over their Princes
“ are but triumphs over themselves; and so will be
“ more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The
“ English nation are a sober people, however at present
“ infatuated.

“ We know not but this may be the last time we
“ may speak to you, or the world, publickly: we are
“ sensible into what hands we are fallen; and yet, we bless
“ God, we have those inward refreshments the malice
“ of our enemies cannot perturb. We have learned
“ to busy ourself by retiring into ourself; and there-
“ fore can the better digest what befalls us; not doubt-
“ ing but God’s providence will restrain our enemies’
“ power, and turn their fierceness to his praise.

“ To conclude, if God gives you success, use it
“ humbly and far from revenge. If he restore you to
“ your right upon hard conditions, whatever you pro-
“ mise, keep. These men, who have forced laws, which
“ they were bound to preserve, will find their triumphs
“ full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this
“ world worth the obtaining by foul and unjust means.

“ You are the son of our love, and as we direct you
“ to weigh what we here recommend to you, so we
“ assure you, we do not more affectionately pray for
“ you, (to whom we are a natural parent), than we do,

“ that

" that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be
 " not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour; and
 " that all our subjects (to whom we are a politic pa-
 " rent) may have such sober thoughts, as to seek their
 " peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian re-
 " ligion, as was established since the reformation in this
 " kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the
 " ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the
 " known practice, may once again be a hedge about
 " them: that you may in due time govern, and they
 " be governed, as in the fear of God; which is the
 " prayer of

" Your very loving father, C. R."

Newport, 25th Nov. 1648.

Whilst the treaty lasted, it was believed that his Ma-
 jesty might have made his escape; which most men who
 wished him well thought in all respects ought to have
 been attempted; and before the treaty, he himself was
 inclined to it, thinking any liberty preferable to the
 restraint he had endured. But he did receive some
 discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both
 diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of
 mind. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful
 some persons in France were that he should have made
 his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thi-
 ther; which, without doubt, was not from want of
 tenderness of his safety, but from the apprehension they
 had, that the little respect they would have shewed him
 there, would have been a greater mortification to him
 than all that he could suffer by the closest imprisonment.
 And sure there was, at that time, no court in Christen-
 dom so honourably or generously ~~confined~~ ^{confined} him; and I ~~suppose~~ ^{suppose}
 would have been glad to have seen him; and I ~~suppose~~ ^{suppose}

be some reason that they who wished him very well did not wish his escape, because they believed imprisonment was the worst his worst enemies intended toward him; since they might that way more reasonably found and settle their republican government; which men could not so prudently propose to bring to pass by a murder; which, in the instant, gave the just title to another who was at liberty to claim his right, and to dispute it: I say, before the treaty, and after the votes and declarations of no more addresses, when his treatment was so barbarous, his Majesty had proposed to himself to make an escape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but such persons who were placed by those who wished worst to his safety; and therefore chose such instruments as they thought to be of their own principles. Amongst those there was a young man, one Osborne, by extraction a gentleman; who was recommended by the Lord Wharton (one who deserved not to be suspected by Cromwell himself) to Colonel Hammond, to be placed in some near attendance about the King; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitness of the man, immediately appointed him to wait as Gentleman Usher; which gave him opportunity to be almost always in the presence of the King. This young man, after some months' attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the King's carriage, and the great affability he used towards those who were always about him, to have a tenderness and loyal sense of his sufferings; and did really desire to do him any service that might be acceptable. By his office of Gentleman Usher he usually held the King's gloves when he was at meat, and first took that opportunity to put a little billet, in which he expressed his devotion, into one of the fingers of his glove. The
King

“move him from thence, without Hammond’s or the King’s own consent?” Rolph answered, “that the King might be decoyed from thence, as he was from Hampton Court, by some letters from his friends, of some danger that threatened him, upon which he would be willing to make an escape; and then he might easily be dispatched.” Osborne shortly found an opportunity to inform the King of all this.

An attempt
for the
King’s
escape.

The King bid him “continue his familiarity with Rolph, and to promise to join with him in contriving how his Majesty should make an escape;” and he hoped thereby to make Rolph’s villainy the means of getting away. He recommended one of the common soldiers to Osborne, “who, he said, he thought, might be trusted;” and wished him “to trust one Doucet,” whom the King had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back stairs, and was indeed an honest man; for it was impossible for him to make an escape, without the privacy of such persons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the castle, as well as help him from thence. Osborne told Rolph, “he was confident he should in the end persuade the King to attempt an escape, though he yet seemed jealous and apprehensive of being discovered, and taken again.” Doucet concurred very willingly in it, and the soldier who was chosen by the King proved likewise very honest, and wrought upon one or two of his companions who used to stand sentinels at the place where the King intended to get out. All things were provided; and the King had a file and saw; with which he had, with wonderful trouble, sawed an iron bar in the window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the night was appointed, and Osborne at the place where he was to receive

ceive the King. But one of the soldiers informed Rolph of more particulars than Osborne had done; by which he concluded that he was false, and directed the soldier to proceed, and stand sentinel in the same place to which he had been assigned; and he, and some others trusted by him, were armed, and stood very near with their pistols. At midnight the King came to the window, resolving to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discerned more persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the window, and retired to his bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse, which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the window, and could neither draw his body after, nor get his head back, and so was compelled to call out for help; which was a mere fiction.

Rolph acquainted Hammond with what the King had designed; who presently went into his chamber, and found the King in his bed, but the bar of the window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and presently seized upon Doucet, but could not apprehend Osborne; who was either fled out of the island, or concealed in it that he could not be found. Rolph could not forbear to insult upon Doucet in prison, and scornfully asked him, "why his King came not forth when he was at the window?" and said, "he was ready with a good pistol charged to have received him." When Osborne had got into a place of present safety, he writ a letter to his patron the Lord Wharton, informing him of the whole matter; and desired him, "to acquaint the House of Peers of the design upon the King's life, and that he would be ready to appear and justify the conspiracy." That Lord, after he had kept the letter some time, sent it to

Osborne ac-
cuses Rolph
for a design
upon the
King's life.

Hammond, as the fittest person to examine the truth of the relation. Osborne was not discouraged with all this: but sent two letters to the Speakers of both Houses, and inclosed the letter he had formerly writ to the Lord Wharton. In the House of Commons the information was slighted, and laid aside; but it made more impression upon the House of Peers; who sent, with more than ordinary earnestness, to the Commons, "that Rolph might be sent for, and a safe-guard for forty days to Osborne to appear, and prosecute."

Rolph brought with him a large testimonial from Hammond of "his integrity, and of the many good services he had done to the State." Osborne appeared likewise at the Lords' bar, and made good upon oath all that is before set down, and undertook to produce other evidence. The House of Commons had no mind to have it examined farther; but the clamour of the people was so great, that, after many delays, they voted "that it should be tried at the general assizes at Winchester." And thither they sent their well-tried Serjeant Wild, to be the sole Judge of that circuit: before whom the major part of the same jury that had found Captain Burley guilty was impannelled for the trial of Rolph Osborne, and Doucet, who upon bail had liberty to be there, appeared to make good the indictment; and, upon their oaths, declared all that Rolph had said to them, as is set down before. The prisoner, if he may be called a prisoner who was under no restraint, had two lawyers assigned to be of council with him, contrary to the law and custom in those cases: but he needed not to have had any council but the Judge himself; who told the jury, "that it was a business of great importance that was before them; and therefore that they should take heed what they did in it: that there was a time
" indeed

“ indeed when intentions and words were treason, but
 “ God forbid it should be so now : how did any body
 “ know but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet,
 “ would have made away the King, and that Rolph
 “ charged his pistol to preserve him ? or, perhaps they
 “ would have carried him away to have engaged them
 “ in a second war.” He told them, “ they were mis-
 “ taken who did believe the King in prison ; the Parlia-
 “ ment did only keep him safe to save the shedding of
 “ more blood.” Upon these good directions, the grand
 jury found an *ignoramus* upon the bill ; and this was
 some little time before the treaty.

When the commissioners, who had treated with the King at the Isle of Wight, were returned to the Parlia-<sup>The com-
missioners’
report of
the treaty
to the Par-
liament.</sup>ment, their report took up many days in the House of
 Commons, where the resolution was first to be taken ;
 which commonly was final, the Lords rarely presuming
 to contradict what the others thought fit to determine.
 The question upon the whole was, “ whether the answer
 “ that the King had made to their propositions was sa-<sup>A long and
sharp de-
bate upon
it.</sup>tisfactory ?” which was debated with all the virulence
 and acrimony towards each other, that can fall from men
 so possessed as both sides were.

Young Sir Harry Vane had begun the debate with <sup>Sir Harry
Vane.</sup>the highest insolence and provocation ; telling them,
 “ that they should that day know and discover, who
 “ were their friends, and who were their foes ; or, that
 “ he might speak more plainly, who were the King’s
 “ party in the House, and who were for the ~~people~~ .”
 and so proceeded with his usual grave bitterness ~~against~~
 the person of the King, and the government ~~that had~~
 been too long settled ; put them in ~~mind~~ ~~that they~~
 “ had been diverted from their old ~~settlement~~ .”
 “ declaration, that they would ~~make~~ ~~the same~~ ~~as~~ .”

" to the King; after which the kingdom had been go-
 " verned in great peace, and begun to taste the sweet of
 " that republican government which they intended and
 " begun to establish, when, by a combination between
 " the city of London and an ill affected party in Scot-
 " land, with some small contemptible insurrections in
 " England, all which were fomented by the city, the
 " Houses had, by clamour and noise, been induced and
 " compelled to reverse their former votes and resolution,
 " and enter into a personal treaty with the King; with
 " whom they had not been able to prevail, notwith-
 " standing the low condition he was in, to give them
 " any security; but he had still reserved a power in
 " himself, or at least to his posterity, to exercise as ty-
 " rannical a government as he had done: that all the
 " insurrections, which had so terrified them, were now
 " totally subdued; and the principal authors and abet-
 " tors of them in their custody, and ready to be brought
 " to justice, if they pleased to direct, and appoint it:
 " that their enemies in Scotland were reduced, and that
 " kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good corre-
 " spondence with their brethren, the Parliament of Eng-
 " land; so that there was nothing wanting, but their
 " own consent and resolution, to make themselves the
 " happiest nation and people in the world; and to that
 " purpose desired, that they might, without any more
 " loss of time, return to their former resolution of mak-
 " ing no more addresses to the King; but proceed to
 " the settling the government without him, and to the
 " severe punishment of those who had disturbed their
 " peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner, as
 " might terrify all other men for the future from mak-
 " ing the like bold attempts: which, he told them, they
 " might see would be most grateful to their army, which
 " had

“ had merited so much from them by the remonstrance
“ they had so lately published.”

This discourse appeared to be exceedingly disliked, by that kind of murmur which usually shews how the House stands inclined, and by which men make their judgments there, of the success that is like to be. And his preface, and entrance into the debate, were taken notice of with equal sharpness; and, “ his presumption in taking upon himself to divide the House, and to censure their affections to the public, as their sense and judgment should agree, or disagree, with his own.” One said, “ that since he had, without example, taken so much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was assumed by other men; and that it was as lawful for another man, who said he was no gainer by the troubles, to make another division of the House, and to say, that they should find in the debate of that day that there were some who were desirous of peace; and that they were all losers, or, at least, no gainers by the war; and that others were against peace; and that they by the war had gained large revenues, and great sums of money, and much wealth; and therefore his motion was, that the gainers might contribute to the losers, if they would not consent that the one might enjoy what was left, and the other possess what they had got, by a peace that might be happy for both.”


Whilst this was debating in the House, which continued several days, six officers, from the head quarters at Windsor, whither the army had been brought before, or at the time when the treaty had been brought of Wight, brought their large remonstrance to the House; in which they desired, “ that their remonstrance to the farther proceedings upon the treaty;”

"would return to their former determination of no
 "farther addressees, and make what haste they could in
 "settling the government : that the bargaining propo-
 "sition on the behalf of Delinquents, which was only
 "upon a contract with the King, and not in any judi-
 "cial way, might be laid aside, and that public justice
 "might be done upon the principal actors in the late
 "troubles, and that others, upon a true submission,
 "might find mercy : that a peremptory day might be
 "set, when the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York
 "should be required to appear ; which if they should
 "not do, they should stand exiled as traitors ; and if
 "they should appear, yet they should be bound to
 "make some satisfaction : that an end might be put to
 "this Parliament, and a new representative chosen of
 "the people, for the governing and preserving the
 "whole body of the nation. That no King might be
 "hereafter admitted but upon election of the people,
 "and as upon trust for the people, who should be like-
 "wise limited and restrained by the representative ;" with
 many other impracticable particulars, which troubled
 the Parliament the less for their incoherence, and impos-
 sibility to be reduced into practice.

The King
 taken from
 Carisbrook
 castle, and
 carried to
 Hurst cas-
 tle.

But that which troubled most, and indeed which
 awakened them to the most dismal apprehensions, was,
 that they were advertised, that the King was taken away
 from Carisbrook castle by an officer of the army, and
 carried to Hurst castle, not far from the other, but
 situated on the main land, and in so vile and unwhole-
 some an air, that the common guards there used to be
 frequently changed for the preservation of their health.
 Colonel Hammond had, before the expiration of the
 treaty, writ many letters to the Parliament, to be dis-
 charged from that government, and from the care of the
 King's

King's person; and the officers of the army seemed wonderfully offended with him for making the demand; and he got himself looked upon as under a cloud. But the treaty was no sooner ended, (and before the commissioners begun their report to the Houses), but he was discharged of the trust of the person of the King, and another colonel sent to take the person of the King, and to carry him to Hurst castle.

This news being brought when they were in the heat of the debate upon the King's answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately voted, "that the seizing ^{upon the King's person, and carrying him prisoner to} Hurst castle, was without their advice and consent: which vote had little contradiction, because no man would own the advice. Then they caused a letter to be written to the General, "that the orders and instructions to Colonel Ewre" (the officer who had seized the King) "were contrary to their resolutions, and instructions to Colonel Hammond; and therefore, that it was the pleasure of the House, that he should receive no orders; and that Colonel Hammond should assume the care of the King's person." But the General, without taking any notice of their declaration, as if their command, demanded the payment of the arrears due to the army; and told them, "that which they were present money sent to the army, he thought he should be forced to remove the army, as it was then, nearer to London." And it is not long since a declaration was sent to the House, that in pursuance of their late resolutions, which the members moved, "that the army should be removed, if they refused to take into consideration the arrears due to them, than they were at present." 

The General marches
for London.

“ of high treason might be drawn up against the principal officers of it.” Hereupon, the General marches directly for London, and quarters at Whitehall; the other officers, with their troops, in Durham House, the Mews, Covent Garden, Westminster, and St. James’s; and for the present necessity, that no inconvenience might fall out, they sent to the city without delay to supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately issued out to satisfy the army. Notwithstanding all which monstrous proceeding, the House of Commons retained its courage, and were resolute “ to assert the treaty; and “ that the King’s answers were satisfactory; or if they “ were not fully satisfactory, that the House might “ and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the settlement of peace in Church and State, rather than “ to reject them as unsatisfactory, and thereby continue “ the kingdom in war and distraction.”

They who vehemently pressed this conclusion, and would be thought to be for the King, to make themselves popular, took upon them to make all the invectives both against the King, and all the time of his government, that his bitterest enemies could do, only that they might shew how much the concessions he had now granted had provided remedies for all those evils, and made all the foundation of their future hope of happiness and peace to be in the no-power they had left him in: so that if he should have a mind to continue the distractions tomorrow, he would find nobody ready ever to join with him, having at this time sacrificed all his friends to the mercy of their mortal enemies. In conclusion, and when they had prosecuted the debate most part of the night, till almost five of the clock in the morning, on Monday night, they had first put the question, “ whether the question should be put?” and carried it by a

hundred

hundred and forty voices against one hundred and four: the main question, "That the answer of the King to ^{Vote " that} the propositions of both Houses was a ground for the ^{" the King's} Houses to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace ^{" answer} of the kingdom," was so clearly voted, that the House ^{" was a} was not divided; and, that there might be no after-claps, they appointed a committee "to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correspondence between the army and the Parliament;" and then they adjourned the House to Wednesday morning, it being then near the morning of Tuesday.

The committee that was appointed to confer with the General waited that afternoon upon him in his lodging at Whitehall, that they might be able to give some account to the House the next morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his presence; and then he told them fully and superciliously, "that the way to correspond with the army, was to comply with their request:" and the next morning there was a guard of musqueteers placed at the entry into and door of the House, and the officers thereof having a list in their hands of the names of those who should be restrained from going into the House, all those were stopped, one by one, as they came, and sent into the Court of Wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which, there were so many of the same opinion got into the House, through the inadvertency of the guard, or because they meant only to sequester the most notorious and refractory persons, that the debate, upon resuming the same question, continued very long; several members who observed the force

Many of the members entering into the House seized upon by the soldiers.

The remaining members vote the contrary to former votes.

force at the entrance of the House, and saw their companions not suffered to come in, complained loudly of the violence and breach of privilege, and demanded remedy; but in vain; the House would take no notice of it. In the conclusion, after a very long debate, the major part of those who were present in the House voted the negative to what had been settled in the former debate, and "that the answer the King had given to their propositions was not satisfactory."

Those gentlemen who for some hours had been restrained in the Court of Wards were afterwards led in triumph through Westminster-hall, (except some few, who were suffered for affection, or by negligence, to go away), by a strong guard, to that place under the Exchequer which is commonly called Hell; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleased. And here they were kept in one room, till after twelve of the clock in the night; after which hour, in respect of the extreme cold weather, and the age of many of the members, they were carried to several inns; where they were suffered to lodge as prisoners, and remained under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they published a protestation in print against the proceedings of the House of Commons, declaring "the force and violence that had been used against them:" and then the House, with the remaining members, having determined what they thought fit, most of the other were at liberty to do what they pleased. Nobody owned this act of violence in the exclusion of so many members: there was no order made for it by the House. Fairfax the General knew nothing of it, and the guards themselves being asked "what authority they had," gave no other answer "but that they had orders." But afterwards there was a full

full and clear order of the House, without taking notice of any exclusion, "that none of them who had not been present that day when the negative vote prevailed should sit any more in the House, before they had first subscribed the same vote, as agreeable to their judgments; which if they subscribed, they were as well qualified members as before." Many of these excluded members, out of conscience or indignation, forbore coming any more to the House for many years; some, not before the Revolution; others, sooner or later, returned to their old seats, that they might not be idle when so much business was to be done.

Then the House renewed their old votes of no more addresses, and annulled and made void all those which introduced the treaty: and, that they might find no more such contradiction hereafter, they committed to several prisons Major General Brown, (though he was then Sheriff of London), Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Major General Maffey, and Commissary General Copley, who were the most active members in the House of the Presbyterian party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the service of the Parliament in their several stations against the King as any men of their rank in the kingdom, and much more than any officer of the present army had then credit to do: of these, Maffey made his escape, and transported himself into Holland; and there, according to the natural modesty of that sect, presented himself to the Prince, with as much confidence (and as a sufferer for the King his father) as if he had defended Colchester.

The protestation that the secluded members had published and caused to be printed, with the narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all acts to be void which from that time had

Vote, "that those who were absent at the negative vote should sit no more in the House."

Vote of no more addresses renewed.

The protestation of the secluded members

Voted
against by
both
Houses.

had been done in the House of Commons, made a great noise over the kingdom, and no less incensed those who remained and sat in the House, than it did the officers of the army; and therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the House likewise made a declaration against that protestation; and declared it "to be false, scandalous, and seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom;" and to this wonderful declaration they obtained the concurrence of the small House of Peers, and jointly ordained "that that protestation should be suppressed, and that no man should presume to sell, or buy, or to read the same."

Votes of the
House of
Commons.

When they had in this manner mastered all contradiction and opposition, they begun more directly to consult what they were to do, as well as what they were not to do, and to establish some affirmative conclusions, as they had done negatives. They were told, "that it was high time to settle some form of government, under which the nation was to live: there had been much treasure and blood spent to recover the liberty of the people, which would be to no purpose if there were not provision made for their secure enjoying it; and there would be always the same attempts made, which had been of late, to disturb and to destroy the public peace, if there were not such exemplary penalties inflicted, as might terrify all men, of what condition soever, from entering upon such desperate undertakings." They resolved to gratify the army, by taking a view of a paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new government, which was called *the Agreement of the People*, and for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the Agitators had been, by Cromwell's directions, the year before, shot to death, when he found the Par-

liament

liament was so much offended with it. They declared now, as the most popular thing they could do to please both the people and the army, "that they would put an end to the Parliament on the last day of April next; and that there should be a representative of the nation, consisting of three hundred persons chosen by the people; of which, for the term of seven years, no person who had adhered to the King, or who should oppose this agreement, or not subscribe thereunto, should be capable of being chosen to be one, or to have a voice in the election; and that, before that time, and before the dissolution of the present Parliament, it would be necessary to bring those signal Delinquents, who had lately disturbed the quiet and peace of the kingdom, and put it to so great an expence of blood and treasure, to exemplary punishment." And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, "that they ought to begin with him who had been the cause of all the miseries, and mischiefs, which had befallen the kingdom, and whom they had already divested of all power and authority to govern them for the future; and they had had near two years' experience, that the nation might be very happily governed without any recourse to him: that they had already declared, and the House of Peers had concurred with them, that the King had been the cause of all the blood which had been spilt; and therefore, that it was fit that such a man of blood should be brought to justice, that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his tyranny and murders: that the people expected this at their hands; and that having the principal malefactor in their power, he might not escape the punishment that was due to him."

How

How new and monstrous soever this language and discourse was to all English ears, they found a major part still to concur with them: so that they appointed:

A committee appointed by them to prepare a charge against the King.

committee for the present “to prepare a charge of high treason against the King, which should contain the several crimes and misdemeanors of his reign; which being made, they would consider of the best way and manner of proceeding, that he might be brought to justice.”

This manner of proceeding in England was so unheard of, that it was very hard for any body to propose any way to oppose it: that might carry with it any hope of success. However, the pain the Prince was in would not suffer him to rest without making some effort. He knew too well how far the States of Holland were from wishing that success and honour to the Crown of England, as it had deserved from them, and how much they had always favoured the rebellion; that his own presence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them: and that they were devising all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believed the way they were now upon in England would be so universally odious to all Christians, that no body of men would appear to favour

The Prince of Wales desires the States to intercede with the two Houses.

it. His Highness therefore sent to the States General to desire them “to give him an audience the next day; and that he would come to the place where they fate;” which he did, being met by the whole body at the bottom of the stairs, and conducted into the room where they fate.

The Prince was attended by four or five of his Council; and when he had said a little to the States of compliment, he referred them to a paper which Sir William Boswell, the King's Resident there, was to deliver to them. The paper described the ill condition the King
his

his father was in ; and the threats and menaces which his enemies used to proceed against him in such a manner as must be abominated by all Christians, and which would bring the greatest reproach and obloquy upon the Protestant religion, that ever Christianity had undergone : and therefore desired them, " that they would " interpose their credit, and authority, in such a manner " as they thought fit, with the two Houses of Westminster, that, instead of such an unlawful and wicked " prosecution, they would enter into terms of accommodation with his royal father ; for the objection " of his Royal Highness would become insurmountable.

The States assured his Highness, " that they were very much afflicted at the condition of his Majesty, and " would be glad any interposition of theirs might be " able to relieve him ; that they would seriously consider in what manner they might assist him. And " that day, they resolved to send an ambassador and a " factor into England, who should request the Prince of Wales, and receive his instructions. " And the King's he should refer to him, " being upon the place, might be able to do so. " to apply himself. And the Prince of Orange, " pensioner of Holland, for the purpose of " immediately attended the Prince of Orange, " vice, and many professions, " might produce some good.

The Council that was then sitting " upon Paw as a man of great " lion in England, and " from the States " him to do ; and " was made choice of " juncture. But the

“ that he had used all his credit to compass that election; that he was the wisest man of their body; and that neither he, nor any of the rest, who had cherished the English rebellion more than he, ever desired it should prosper to that degree it had done, as to endanger the changing the government;” and therefore wished “ there might not appear any distrust of him, but that the Prince would treat him with confidence, and some of the Council would confer with him with freedom, upon any particulars which it would be necessary for him to be instructed in.” But the wisdom of angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice for such a negotiation, since the States could not be brought so much to interest themselves, as to use any menaces to the Parliament as if they would embark themselves in the quarrel. So that the Council could only wish, “ that the ambassador would confer with such of the King’s friends who were then at London, and whose relation had been most eminent towards his Majesty; and receive advice from them, how he might most hopefully prevail over particular men, and thereby with the Parliament.” And so the ambassador departed for England, within less than a week after he was nominated for the employment.

They send
an ambaf-
fador into
England,

At the same time, the Queen of England, being struck to the heart with amazement and confusion upon the report of what the Parliament intended, sent a paper to the agent who was employed there by the Cardinal to keep a good correspondence; which she obliged him to deliver to the Parliament. The paper contained a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the King her husband was in; desiring “ that they would grant her a pass to come over to him, offering to use all the credit she had with him, that he might give
“ them

The Queen
sent a paper
to be deli-
vered to the
Parliament;
but it was
laid aside.

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

“ them satisfaction. However, if they would
“ her leave to perform any of those offices
“ public, that she might be permitted to
“ duty she owed him, and to be near him in the
“ most extremity.” Neither of these addresses
than express the zeal of those who procured the
made: the ambassador Paw could neither
see the King, (which he was to endeavour to
he might from himself be instructed best to
nor be admitted to an audience by the Parliar
after the tragedy was acted: and the Queen’s p
delivered, and never considered in order to re
answer to it.

When the committee had prepared such a
which they called “an impeachment of high
“ against Charles Stewart, King of England,”
into several articles, which contained all those
nies they had formerly heaped up in that dec
of no more addresses to be made to him, with so
ditional reproaches, it was read in the House; ar
it was approved there, they sent it to the House
for their concurrence. That House had very litt
from the time that Cromwell returned from S
and were few in number, and used to adjourn fo
three days together for want of business; so th
believed, that they who had done so many ext
things, rather than they would dissent from th
of Commons, would likewise concur with ther
rather than sever from them when they we
umphant. But, contrary to this expectation,
impeachment was brought to this expectation,
received, that there was not one person who
with them; which, considering the men and
of them had done, might seem very stran

Rejected by when they had, with some warmth, rejected it, they ad-
 the Lords, journaled for a week ; presuming they should thereby at
 who ad- least give some interruption to that career which the
 journaled for a week.

House of Commons was upon, and, in that time, some expedient might be found to reconcile the proceedings in both Houses. But they were as much deceived in this ; the House of Commons was very well pleased with it, and thought they had given them ease, which they could not so well have contrived for themselves. So they proceeded in their own method, and when the day came to which the Lords had adjourned their

The door of
 their House
 locked up
 against the
 day to
 which they
 had ad-
 journaled.

House, they found their doors all locked, and fastened with padlocks, that there should then be no more entrance for them ; nor did any of them ever after sit in that House as Peers above twice or thrice at most, till Cromwell, long after, endeavoured in vain to have erected a House of Peers of his own creation ; in which some of them then very willingly took their places.

The charge and accusation, upon which they resolved to proceed against the King, being thus settled and agreed upon, they begun to consider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be some appearance of justice. Nothing could be found in the common or statute law, which could direct or warrant them ; nor could the precedent of deposing Richard the Second (the sole precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpose : for, how foul soever the circumstances precedent had been, he had made a resignation of his royalty before the Lords in Parliament ; so that his deposition proceeded from himself, and with his own consent, and would not agree in any particular with the case in question. They were therefore to make a new form to warrant their proceedings : and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They constituted

stituted and erected a court that should be called "*the* High Court of Justice, to consist of so many judges, who should have authority to try the King, whether he were guilty of what he was accused of, or no; and, in order thereunto, to examine such witnesses as should be produced:" the number of the judges named was about an hundred and fifty, whereof the major part might proceed.

The Commons constitute a High Court of Justice.

They could not have found such a number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last tragical act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they should make only their own members to be judges in this case, they might appear in the eyes of the people to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintained a war, though defensive, as they pretended, against the King, and so not so fit to be the only judges who were in the fault: on the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpreted that they looked upon it as too dangerous a province to engage themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would discourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they resolved, that the judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of members of the House, as of such other of their good and godly men in the kingdom. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of conscience, or of fear, utterly protested against it, should take upon him to name another man; which sure he could not but think was equally unlawful: so that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the province themselves.

All the chief officers of the army were named, and

Bradshaw
made Lord
President.

Lawyers
and other
officers ap-
pointed.

divers accepted the office ; and such aldermen and citizens of London, as had been most violent against peace, and some few country gentlemen, whose zeal had been taken notice of for the cause, and who were like to take such a preferment as a testimony of the Parliament's confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a number of men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a speaker, or prolocutor, who should be called Lord President of that High Court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the witnesses all proper questions, and answer what the prisoner should propose. And to that office one Bradshaw was chosen, a lawyer of Gray's Inn, not much known in Westminster-hall, though of good practice in his chamber, and much employed by the factious. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Cheshire and Lancashire, but of a fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great insolence and ambition. When he was first nominated, he seemed much surprised, and very resolute to refuse it ; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of abilities to undergo so important a charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that apology. And when he was pressed with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he required " time to consider of it ;" and said, " he " would then give his final answer ;" which he did the next day ; and with great humility accepted the office, which he administered with all the pride, impudence, and superciliousness imaginable. He was presently invested in great state, and many officers and a guard assigned for the security of his person, and the Dean's house at Westminster given to him for ever for his residence

fidence and habitation, and a good sum of money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an equipage and way of living, as the dignity of the office which he held would require. And now, the Lord President of the High Court of Justice seemed to be the greatest magistrate in England. And though it was not thought seasonable to make any such declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into ordinances, upon several occasions, declared, "that they believed" "that office was not to be looked upon as necessary" "*pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that he" "who executed it deserved to have an ample and a" "liberal estate conferred upon him for ever:" which sudden mutation and exaltation of fortune could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar spirit, accustomed to no excesses, and acquainted only with a very moderate fortune. All this being done, they made choice of some lawyers (till that time very obscure, and men scarce known or heard of in their profession) to perform the offices of Attorney General, and Solicitor General for the State, to prosecute the prisoner at his trial, and to manage the evidence against him. Other officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the several offices of their new court; which was ordered to be erected in Westminster-hall.

The King was now sent for from Hurst castle, and was received by Colonel Harrison with a strong party of horse; by whom he was to be conducted to Windsor castle. Harrison was the son of a butcher near Nantwich in Cheshire, and had been bred up in the place of a clerk under a lawyer of good account in those parts; which kind of education introduces men into the language and practice of business, and, if it be not resisted

The King sent for from Hurst castle by Harrison.

The character of Harrison.

by the great ingenuity of the person, inclines young men to more pride than any other kind of breeding; and disposes them to be pragmatical and insolent, though they have the skill to conceal it from their masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the rebellion first began, this man quitted his master, (who had relation to the King's service, and discharged his duty faithfully), and put himself into the Parliament army; where, having first obtained the office of a cornet, he got up, by diligence and sobriety, to the state of a captain, without any signal notice taken of him till the new model of the army; when Cromwell, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his service, much given to prayer and to preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his clerkship contributed very much: and then he was preferred very fast; so that, by the time the King was brought to the army, he had been a colonel of horse, and looked upon as inferior to few, after Cromwell and Ireton, in the Council of Officers and in the government of the Agitators; and there were few men with whom Cromwell more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the conduct of any thing committed to him. He received the King with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any address; answering questions in short and few words, and, when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the King had some thought of making an escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at Windsor, and so to pass by Bagshot, the King expressed a desire to see his little park at Bagshot, and so to dine at the Lodge there, a place
where

where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the Lord Newburgh, who had lately married the Lady Aubigny, lived there; and said, "he would send a servant to let that lady know that he would dine with her, that she might provide a dinner for him." Harrison well knew the affection of that lord and lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the King so fixed upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by absolutely refusing him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his Majesty should send a servant; which he did the night before he intended to dine there.

Both lord and lady were of known duty and affection to the King; the lady, after her husband the Lord Aubigny had been killed at Edgehill, having so far incensed the Parliament, that she had endured a long imprisonment, under a suspicion that she had been privy to the design which had been discovered by Mr. Waller, upon which Tomkins and Challoner had been put to death, and had likewise herself been put to death, if she had not made her escape to Oxford. After the war was ended, she had, with the King's approbation, married the Lord Newburgh; who had the same affections. They had, from the time of the King's being at Hampton Court, concerted with his Majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the letters which passed between the King and the Queen passed through their hands; who had likewise a cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from Hurst castle, and advised him "to find some way

“ that he might dine at the Lodge at Bagshot ; and that
 “ he should take occasion, if he could, to lame the
 “ horse he rode upon, or to find such fault with his
 “ going, that he might take another horse out of the
 “ Lord Newburgh’s stables to continue the rest of his
 “ journey upon.” That lord much delighted in horses,
 and had, at that time, in his stables one of the fleetest
 that was in England ; and the purpose was, to mount the
 King upon that horse, that, when he found a fit oppor-
 tunity, he might, upon the sudden, set spurs to him ;
 and, if he could get out of the company that encom-
 passed him, he might, possibly, by the swiftness of his
 horse, and his own skill in the most obscure ways of that
 forest, convey himself to another place in their view ;
 and so, three or four good horses were laid in several
 places. And this was the reason that the King had so
 earnestly insisted upon dining at Bagshot ; which being
 in his way, and his custom being always to dine, they
 could not reasonably deny him that liberty.

Before the King came thither, Harrison had sent
 some horse with an officer to search the house, and all
 about the park, that he might be sure that no company
 lurked, which might make some attempt. And the
 King, all the morning, found fault with the going of his
 horse ; and said, “ he would change it, and procure a
 “ better.” When his Majesty came to the Lodge, he
 found his dinner ready, but was quickly informed,
 “ that the horse so much depended upon was, the day
 “ before, by the blow of another horse, so lamed, that
 “ he could not be of use to the purpose he was designed
 “ for.” And though that lord had other good horses,
 which in such an exigent might be made use of, yet the
 King had observed so great difficulty to be in the
 attempt all his journey, when he was encompassed
 always

The King
 dines at the
 Lord New-
 burgh’s ;
 where was
 an intention
 of making
 the King’s
 escape, but
 in vain.

always in the middle of a hundred horse, the officers all exceedingly well horsed, and every man, officer, and soldier, having a pistol ready spanned in one hand, that he resolved not to pursue that design. And Harrison had already told him, "that he had provided a better horse for him:" and it was believed he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the Lord Newburgh's. So that after having spent three or four hours there with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not suffered to be in any room without the company of six or seven soldiers, who suffered little to be spoken, except it was so loud that they could hear it too, he took a sad farewell of them, appearing to have little hope ever to see them again. The Lord Newburgh rode some miles in the forest to wait upon the King, till he was required by Harrison to return. His Majesty lodged that night at his castle of Windsor, and was soon after carried to St. James's. In the evening Harrison observing that the King had some apprehension that there was a purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some words of "~~the intention~~ wickedness of such an assassination," which could never be safe to the king and under-taken; he told him plainly, "~~he~~ ascertain any such imagination: "~~speculation~~: "~~the~~ the Parliament had too much sense and justice to cherish so foul an intention: "~~in~~ whatever the Parliament might do in relation to public, and in a way of which I am certain "~~should~~ should be witness: "~~of~~ of secret violence: "~~to~~ suade himself to believe that "~~ever~~ ever produce him in "~~form~~ form whatsoever of "

The several consultations, before and after this time, among the officers, what to do with the King :

It hath been acknowledged since by some officers, and others who were present at the consultations, that from the time of the King's being at Hampton Court, and after the army had mastered both the Parliament and the city, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret consults what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, "they should never be able to settle their new form of government, whilst he lived:" and after he was become a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, they were more solicitous for a resolution and determination in that particular: and after the vote of no more addresses, the most violent party thought "they could do nothing in order to their own ends, till he should be first dead; and therefore, one way or other, that was to be compassed in the first place." Some were for "an actual deposing him; which could not but be easily brought to pass, since the Parliament would vote any thing they should be directed:" others were for "the taking away his life by poison; which would make least noise;" or, "if that could not be so easily contrived, by assassination; for which there were hands enough ready to be employed." There was a third sort, as violent as either of the other, who pressed "to have him brought to a public trial as a malefactor; which," they said, "would be most for the honour of the Parliament, and would teach all Kings to know, that they were accountable and punishable for the wickedness of their lives."

✓ Many of the officers were of the first opinion, "as a thing they had precedents for; and that he being once deposed, they could better settle the government than if he were dead; for his son could pretend no right whilst he was alive; whereas, if the father were dead,

“ dead, he would presently call himself King, and others
 “ would call him so too ; and, it may be, other Kings
 “ and Princes would own him for such. If he were
 “ kept alive in a close prison, he might afterwards be
 “ made use of, or removed upon any appearance of a
 “ revolution.”

There were as many officers of the second judgment;
 “ that he should be presently dispatched.” They said,
 “ it appeared by the experience they had, that whilst he
 “ was alive, (for a more strict imprisonment than he had
 “ undergone, he could never be confined to), there
 “ would be always plots and designs to set him at
 “ liberty ; and he would have parties throughout the
 “ kingdom ; and, in a short time, a faction in their
 “ most secret councils, and it may be in the army itself;
 “ and, where his liberty would yield so great a price, it
 “ would be too great a trust to repose in any man, that
 “ he would long resist the temptation. Whereas, if he
 “ were confessedly dead, all those fears would be over ;
 “ especially if they proceeded with that circumspection
 “ and severity towards all his party, as in prudence they
 “ ought to do.” This party might probably have carried
 it, if Hammond could have been wrought upon to have
 concurred ; but he had yet too much conscience to ex-
 pose himself to that infamy ; and without his privity or
 connivance it could not be done.

The third party, which were all the levellers and
 agitators of the army, in the head of which Ireton and
 Harrison were, would not endure either of the other
 ways ; and said, “ they could as easily bring him to
 “ justice in the fight of the sun, as depose him ; since
 “ the authority of the Parliament could do one as well
 “ as the other : that their precedent of deposing had
 “ no reputation with the people ; but was looked upon
 “ as

" as the effect of some potent faction, which always
 " pressed the people more after, than they had been
 " fore. Besides, those depofings had always been
 " tended with affassinations and murders, which
 " the more odious and detested, because nobody
 " and avowed the bloody actions they had done. If
 " if he were brought to a public trial, for the notori-
 " ill things he had done, and for his misgovern-
 " upon the complaint and prosecution of the peo-
 " the superiority of the people would be hereby
 " cated and made manifest; and they should receive
 " benefit, and be for ever free from those oppress-
 " which he had imposed upon them, and for which
 " ought to pay so dear; and such an exemplary
 " ceeding and execution as this, where every cir-
 " stance should be clear and notorious, would be the
 " foundation and security of the government they
 " tended to establish; and no man would be ambi-
 " to succeed him, and be a King in his place, when
 " saw in what manner he must be accountable to
 " people." This argumentation, or the strength
 " obstinacy of that party, carried it: and, hereupon
 " that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was ex-
 " cised, was resolved upon and consented to.

Concluded
 to have him
 publicly
 tried.

Whether the incredibility or monstrosity of such
 kind of proceeding wrought upon the minds of men,
 whether the principal actors took pains, by their in-
 sinuations, to have it so believed, it fell out however
 they among them who wished the King best, and stood
 nearest to the stage where these parts were acted, did
 not believe that there were those horrid intentions
 shortly after appeared. The preachers, who had sounded
 the trumpets loudest to, and throughout the war,
 preached now as furiously against all wicked attempts

violence against the person of the King, and foolishly
 and the obligation of the Covenant (by which they had
 olved him in all the danger he was in) for the security
 is person.

as soon as the Prince heard of the King's being car-
 by Harrison to Windsor, and from thence to St.
 res's, though he had lately sent a servant on purpose
 ee his Majesty, and to bring him an account of the
 e he was in, which servant was not permitted to see
 1, he sent now another with a letter to Fairfax and

Council of War, (for he knew the Parliament had
 authority), in which he told them, "that he had no
 other means to be informed of the health and con-
 dition of the King his royal father, but by the com-
 mon prints, and general intelligences that arrived in
 those parts: he had reason by those to believe, that,
 after the expiration of the treaty in the Isle of Wight,
 (where he hoped the foundation for a happy peace
 had been laid), his Majesty had been carried to Hurst
 castle; and since, by some officers of the army, at
 Windsor, not without purpose of a more violent per-
 secution; the rumour whereof, though of so men-
 strous and incredible a nature, had called upon a
 piety to make this address to them; who had a
 time the power to choose, whether they would
 lasting monuments to themselves of loyalty
 by restoring their Sovereign to his just rights,
 their country to peace and happiness;
 had been seldom absolutely vouchsafed
 number of men, or to make themselves
 endless misery to the kingdom
 consenting to an act which al
 different opinions forever divide
 most inconsistent with the

The Prince
 sends a let-
 ter to Fair-
 fax and the
 Council of
 War:

"and destructive to the security and being of any
 "of government: he did therefore earnestly desire
 "conjure them, sadly to consider the vast and prodigious
 "disproportion in that election; and then," he said
 "he could not doubt but that they would choose
 "that which is most just, safe, and honourable
 "them to do; make themselves the blest instruments
 "preserve, defend, and restore their King; to which
 "only their allegiance was due; by which every one
 "of them might justly promise themselves peace
 "conscience, the singular good will and favour of
 "Majesty, the ample thanks and acknowledgements
 "all good men, and the particular and unalterable
 "tion of the Prince himself." This letter was, with
 much ado, delivered into the hands of Fairfax; but
 but the messenger could never be admitted to see
 with him; nor was there more known, than that it
 was read in the Council of War, and laid aside.

Which was
 read in the
 Council of
 War, and
 laid aside.

From the time of the King's being come to
 James's, when he was delivered into the hands
 custody of Colonel Tomlinson, a colonel of foot, though
 the officer seemed to be a man of a better breeding,
 of a nature more civil than Harrison, and pretended
 pay much respect and duty to the King in his outward
 demeanour, yet his Majesty, after a short time, was
 treated with more rudeness and barbarity than he had
 ever been before. They were so jealous of their
 guards, lest they should be wrought upon by the influ-
 ence of this innocent Prince, or by the remorse of their
 own conscience upon the exercise of so much barbarity,
 that they caused the guards to be still changed; and the
 same men were never suffered twice to perform the same
 monstrous duty.

The usage
 of the King
 at St.
 James's.

When he was first brought to Westminster-hall,

which

which was upon the twentieth of January, before their High Court of Justice, he looked upon them, and fate down, without any manifestation of trouble, never stirring his hat; all the impudent judges sitting covered, and fixing their eyes upon him, without the least shew of respect. The odious libel, which they called a charge and impeachment, was then read by the clerk; which, in effect, contained, "that he had been admitted King of England, and trusted with a limited power to govern according to law; and, by his oath and office, was obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the people: but that he had, out of a wicked design to erect to himself an illimited and tyrannical power, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people, traitorously levied war against the present Parliament, and the people therein represented." And then it mentioned his first appearance at York with a guard, then his being at Beverly, then his setting up his standard at Nottingham, the day of the month and the year in which the battle had been at Edgehill, and all the other several battles which had been fought in his presence; "in which," it said, "he had caused and procured many thousands of the free-born people of the nation to be slain: that after all his forces had been defeated, and himself become a prisoner, he had, in that very year, caused many insurrections to be made in England, and given a commission to the Prince his son to raise a new war against the Parliament; whereby many who were in their service, and trusted by them, had revolted, broken their trust, and betook themselves to the service of the Prince against the Parliament and the people: that he had been the author and contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars; and was therein guilty of all

He is brought to Westminister-hall, Jan. 20.
The sum of his charge.

" the

“ the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, and spoils, desolations, damage, and mischief to the nation, which had been committed in the said war, or been occasioned thereby ; and that he was therefore impeached for the said treasons and crimes, on the behalf of the people of England, as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer, and a public implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England.” And it was prayed, “ that he might be put to answer to all the particulars, to the end that such an examination, trial, and judgment, might be had thereupon, as should be agreeable to justice.”

What
passed the
first day of
his trial.

Which being read, their president Bradshaw, after he had insolently reprehended the King “ for not having shewed more respect to that high tribunal,” told him, “ that the Parliament of England had appointed that court to try him for the several treasons, and misdemeanours, which he had committed against the kingdom during the evil administration of his government ; and that, upon the examination thereof, justice might be done.” And, after a great sauciness and impudence of talk, he asked the King, “ what answer he had to make to that impeachment.”

The King, without any alteration in his countenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, “ he would first know of them, by what authority they presumed by force to bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge of his actions, for which he was accountable to none but God ; though they had been always such as he need not be ashamed to own them before all the world.” He told them, “ that he was their King, they his subjects ; who owed him duty and obedience : that no Parliament had authority to call him before them ; but that they were not the Parliament, nor had any authority from the Parliament to sit
“ in

“ in that manner: that of all the persons who sat there, and took upon them to judge him, except those persons who being officers of the army he could not but know whilst he was forced to be amongst them, there were only two faces which he had ever seen before, or whose names were known to him.” And, after urging “ their duty, that was due to him, and his superiority over them,” by such lively reasons, and arguments, as were not capable of any answer, he concluded, “ that he would not so much betray himself, and his royal dignity, as to answer any thing they objected against him, which were to acknowledge their authority; though he believed that every one of themselves, as well as the spectators, did, in their own consciences, absolve him from all the material things which were objected against him.”

Bradshaw advised him, in a very arrogant manner, “ not to deceive himself with an opinion that any thing he had said would do him any good: that the Parliament knew their own authority, and would not suffer it to be called in question or debated:” therefore required him, “ to think better of it, against he should be next brought thither, and that he would answer directly to his charge; otherwise, he could not be so ignorant, as not to know what judgment the law pronounced against those who stood mute, and obstinately refused to plead.” So the guard carried his Majesty back to St. James’s; where they treated him as before.

There was an accident happened that first day, which may be fit to be remembered. When all those who were commissioners had taken their places, and the King was brought in, the first ceremony was, to read their commission; which was the Ordinance of Parliament

Disturb-
ance in the
court by the
Lady Fair-
fax the Ge-
neral's
wife.

for the trial ; and then the judges were all called, every man answering to his name as he was called, and the President being first called and making answer, the next who was called being the General, Lord Fairfax, and no answer being made, the officer called him the second time, when there was a voice heard that said, " he had " more wit than to be there ;" which put the court into some disorder, and somebody asking, who it was, there was no other answer but a little murmuring. But, presently, when the impeachment was read, and that expression used, of " all the good people of England," the same voice in a louder tone answered, " No, nor " the hundredth part of them : " upon which, one of the officers bid the soldiers give fire into that box whence those presumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly discerned that it was the General's wife, the Lady Fairfax, who had uttered both those sharp sayings ; who was presently persuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new disorder. She was of a very noble extraction, one of the daughters and heirs of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury ; who, having been bred in Holland, had not that reverence for the Church of England, as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurred in her husband's entering into rebellion, never imagining what misery it would bring upon the kingdom ; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all she could to hinder her husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever fit in that bloody court, though he was throughout overruled by Cromwell, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected.

As there was in many persons present at that woful spectacle a real duty and compassion for the King, so there

there was in others so barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him tyrant and murderer; and one spit in his face; which his Majesty, without expressing any trouble, wiped off with his handkerchief.

The two men who were only known to the King before the troubles, were Sir Harry Mildmay, Master of the King's Jewel-house, who had been bred up in the Court, being younger brother of a good family in Essex, and who had been prosecuted with so great favours and bounties by King James, and by his Majesty, that he was raised by them to a great estate, and preferred to that office in his house, which is the best under those which entitle the officers to be of the Privy Council. No man more obsequious to the Court than he, whilst it flourished; a great flatterer of all persons in authority, and a spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the Parliament, he concurred with those who were most violent against the Court, and most like to prevail against it; and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes men most impudent, he continued his desperate pace with them, till he became one of the murderers of his master. The other was Sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the Earl of Danby, who was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his brother, and having, by a vain expence in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud, formal, weak man, between being seduced and a seducer, became so far involved in their counsels, that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that

Sir H. Mildmay and Sir John Danvers the only two persons the King knew besides the officers of the army.

party of miscreants look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation, as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay.

A summary
passing over
the rest of
the King's
trial.

The several unheard of insolences which this excellent Prince was forced to submit to, at the other time he was brought before that odious judicatory, his majestic behaviour, and resolute insisting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifest authorities in the law, as well as by the clearest deductions from reason, the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world, the execution of that sentence by the most execrable murder that was ever committed since that of our blessed Saviour, and the circumstances thereof; the application and interposition that was used by some noble persons to prevent that woful murder, and the hypocrisy with which that interposition was eluded, the saint-like behaviour of that blessed martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars so well known, and have been so much enlarged upon in a treatise peculiarly writ to that purpose, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the reader, and make the relation itself odious as well as needless; and therefore no more shall be said here of that deplorable tragedy, so much to the dishonour of the nation, and the religion professed by it, though undeservedly.

His character.

But it will not be unnecessary to add a short character of his person, that posterity may know the inestimable loss which the nation then underwent, in being deprived of a Prince, whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation, than the most strict laws can have. To speak first of his private qualifications as a man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues; he was,

if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man ; so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing : and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that the Judges of the land represented to him the damage and insecurity to the public, that flowed from such his indulgence. And then he restrained himself from pardoning either murders, or highway robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a wonderful reformation of those enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions ; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers ; so that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet devotions ; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered : and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean. That kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular durst not brag of their liberty : and he did not only permit, but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service.

His kingly virtues had some mixture and allay, that

hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the Duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those, to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw and observed men long, before he received them about his person; and did not love strangers, nor very confident men. He was a patient hearer of causes; which he frequently accustomed himself to at the Council Board; and judged very well, and was dexterous in the mediating part: so that he often put an end to causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of men's humours made dilatory in courts of justice.

He was not
very boun-
tiful.

He kept
state in his
Court.

Patient in
hearing
causes.

Fearless,
not enter-
prising.

Not confi-
dent in his
own judg-
ment.

He was very fearless in his person; but, in his riper years, not very enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature, he would have found more respect and duty. And his not applying some severe cures to approaching evils proceeded from the lenity of his nature, and the tenderness of his conscience, which, in all cases of blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scottish expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have

have reduced that nation to the most entire obedience that could have been wished. But no man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his Council had to the war, or any other fatigue. He was always a great lover of the Scottish nation, having not only been born there, ^{Lover of the Scottish nation.} but educated by that people, and besieged by them always, having few English about him till he was king; and the major number of his servants being still of that nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these, no man had such an ascendant over him, by the humblest insinuations, as Duke Hamilton had.

As he excelled in all other virtues, so in temperance ^{Abhorred.} he was so strict, that he abhorred all debauchery to that ^{debauchery.} degree, that, at a great festival solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the nobility of the English and Scots were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of wine they drank, and "that there was one Earl, who had drank "most of the rest down, and was not himself moved or "altered," the King said, "that he deserved to be "hanged;" and that Earl coming shortly after into the room where his Majesty was, in some gaiety, to shew how unhurt he was from that battle, the King sent one to bid him withdraw from his Majesty's presence; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth conspired it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not always from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from

particular and personal animosities against other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the destruction of their master. And after all this, when a man might reasonably believe that less than a universal defection of three nations could not have reduced a great King to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the greatest king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.

Beloved by his subjects in general when he was murdered.

The sum of his character.

This unparalleled murder and parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of January, in the year, according to the account used in England, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great vigour of body, that when his murderers caused him to be opened, (which they did, and were some of them present at it with great curiosity,) they confessed and declared, “ that no man had ever all his
“ vital

“ vital parts so perfect and unhurt : and that he seemed
“ to be of so admirable a composition and constitution,
“ that he would probably have lived as long as nature
“ could subsist.” His body was immediately carried His funeral.
into a room at Whitehall ; where he was exposed
for many days to the public view, that all men might
know that he was not alive. And he was then em-
balmed, and put into a coffin, and so carried to St.
James’s ; where he likewise remained several days.
They who were qualified to order his funeral declared,
“ that he should be buried at Windsor in a decent
“ manner, provided that the whole expence should not
“ exceed five hundred pounds.” The Duke of Rich-
mond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of South-
ampton and Lindsey, who had been of his bedcham-
ber, and always very faithful to him, desired those who
governed, “ that they might have leave to perform the
“ last duty to their dead master, and to wait upon him
“ to his grave ;” which, after some pauses, they were
permitted to do, with this, “ that they should not at-
“ tend the corpse out of the town ; since they resolved
“ it should be privately carried to Windsor without
“ pomp or noise, and then they should have timely
“ notice, that, if they pleased, they might be at his in-
“ terment.” And accordingly it was committed to four
of those servants, who had been by them appointed to
wait upon him during his imprisonment, that they
should convey the body to Windsor ; which they did.
And it was, that night, placed in that chamber which
had usually been his bedchamber : the next morning,
it was carried into the great hall ; where it remained till
the lords came ; who arrived there in the afternoon,
and immediately went to Colonel Whitcote, the Go-
vernor of the castle, and shewed the order they had
from

from the Parliament to be present at the burial ; which he admitted : but when they desired that his Majesty might be buried according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, the Bishop of London being present with them to officiate, he positively and roughly refused to consent to it ; and said, “ it was not lawful ; that the “ Common Prayer Book was put down, and he would “ not suffer it to be used in that garrison where he “ commanded ;” nor could all the reasons, persuasions, and entreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the church, to make choice of a place for burial. But when they entered into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all inscriptions, and those land-marks pulled down, by which all men knew every particular place in that church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were : nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our princes had used to be interred. At last there was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, “ there was a vault, “ in which King Harry the Eighth and Queen Jane “ Seymour were interred.” As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the grave to be made. There the King’s body was laid without any words, or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed with these words only, *King Charles 1648*. When the coffin was put in, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the earth thrown in ; which the Governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church.

I have been the longer and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to men-

mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humours and fancies of men, they who were in nearest credit and trust about the King underwent many very severe censures and reproaches, not without reflection upon the King himself. Upon the return of King Charles the Second with so much congratulation, and universal joy of the people, above ten years after the murder of his father, it was generally expected that the body should be removed from that obscure burial, and, with such ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his royal ancestors in King Harry the Seventh's Chapel in the collegiate church of Westminster. And the King himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferred till some circumstances and ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of state, the ground whereof several men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those reproaches upon the statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations did not satisfy their understanding. For the satisfaction and information of all men, I choose in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The Duke of Richmond was dead before the King returned; the Marquis of Hertford died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his lodging after his Majesty came to Whitehall: the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Lindsey went to Windsor, and took with them such of their own servants as had attended them in that service, and as many others

others as they remembered had been then present, and were still alive ; who all amounted to a small number ; there being, at the time of the interment, great strictness used in admitting any to be present whose names were not included in the order which the lords had brought. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observed to be in that church, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards decency, so totally perplexed their memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place or part of the church the royal body was interred : yet, where any concurred upon this or that place, they caused the ground to be opened at a good distance, and, upon such enquiries, found no cause to believe that they were near the place : and, upon their giving this account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aside ; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discourtenancing farther enquiry.

Though this wicked and abominable action had to a degree satisfied their malice, it had not enough provided for their ambition or security. They had no sooner freed themselves from one, than another King was grown up in his place. And besides the old royal party, which continued still vigorous, notwithstanding their loss of so much blood, and (which weakens almost as much) of so great estates, they did apprehend that there were in the vast number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had so grievously offended) who would yet be very willing to submit, and be obedient to the new King ; who was like to find more friends abroad, as well as at home, than his father had done. And therefore they made haste to prevent this threatening evil, by publishing a proclamation, “ that no person whatsoever should

“ pre-

“ presume to declare Charles Stuart, son of the late Proclama-
tion against
 “ Charles, commonly called the Prince of Wales, or proclaim-
ing Charles
 “ any other person, to be King, or Chief Magistrate of Stuart
 “ England, or Ireland, or of any dominions belonging King.
 “ thereunto, by colour of inheritance, succession, elec-
 “ tion, or any other claim whatsoever; and that who-
 “ ever, contrary to this Act, presume to proclaim, &c.
 “ should be deemed and adjudged a traitor, and suffer
 “ accordingly.”

In the next place, that their infant republic might be
 nursed, cherished, and brought up by those only who
 had gotten and brought it forth, they resolved to take
 away and abolish the House of Peers, and voted, “ that The Com-
mons abo-
lish the
House of
Peers.
 “ they would make no farther addresses to the House of
 “ Lords, nor receive any more from them: that the
 “ House of Peers, in Parliament, was useless and dan-
 “ gerous; and that an Act should be brought in for
 “ abolishing it: that the privilege of the Peers, of being
 “ freed from arrests, should be declared null and void;”
 all which was done within few days. However, they
 declared, “ that the Peers should have the privilege
 “ to be elected knights, or burgesses;” of which gra-
 cious concession some of them took the benefit soon *after*
 after, and sate, upon their election into vacant places,
 in the House of Commons.

There remained yet another provision to be made
 against their own ambition; for it was well known, that
 there were yet amongst them many who were not
 equally fond of a commonwealth; and therefore they
 declared, “ that it had been found by experience, that Vote against
the office of
kingship.
 “ the office of a King in this nation, or to have the
 “ power thereof in any single person, was unnecessary,
 “ burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, and safety,
 “ and public interest of the nation; and therefore that
 “ it

“ it should be utterly abolished ; and to that purpose
 “ an Act should be forthwith prepared :” which was
 likewise done, and passed. And by this triple cord they
 believed their republic would be strongly compacted
 and sufficiently provided for.

They make
 a new Great
 Seal.

Their new Great Seal was by this time ready :
 whereon was engraven, on one side, the arms of Eng-
 land and Ireland, with this inscription, *The Great Seal
 of England* ; and on the other side the portraiture of
 the House of Commons sitting, circumscribed, *In the
 first year of freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648.*
 The custody of this Great Seal was committed to three
 lawyers, whereof one had fate among the King's Judges,
 and the others had contributed too much to their ser-
 vice. All things being now in this good order, they
 sent for their Judges, to agree upon the formality and
 circumstances of proceedings. For it was declared by
 the Parliament, “ that they were fully resolved to main-
 “ tain and uphold the fundamental laws of the nation,
 “ in order to the preservation of the lives, property,
 “ and liberty of the people, notwithstanding all the al-
 “ terations made in the government for the good of the
 “ people :” and the writs were no more to run in the
 King's name, as they had always done, but the name,
 style, and test, to be *Custodes libertatis Angliæ, authori-
 tate Parliamenti.* If it were not a thing so notoriously
 known, it could not be believed, that of twelve Judges,
 whereof ten were of their own making, and the other
 two had quietly submitted, from the beginning of the

Six of their
 own Judges
 give up.

war, to the authority that governed, six laid down their
 places, and could not give themselves leave to accept
 commissions from the new established power. So agui-
 sh and fantastical a thing is the conscience of men who
 have once departed from the rule of conscience, in hope

to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a less pressing occasion.

It will be requisite, at least it may not be unfit, to rest and make a pause in this place, to take a view, with what countenance the Kings and Princes of Christendom had their eyes fixed upon this sad and bloody spectacle; how they looked upon that issue of blood, at which their own seemed to be so prodigally poured out; with what consternation their hearts laboured to see the impious hands of the lowest and basest subjects bathing in the bowels and reeking blood of their Sovereign; a brother King, the anointed of the Lord, dismembered as a malefactor; what combination and union was entered into, to take vengeance upon those monsters, and to vindicate the royal blood thus wickedly spilt. Alas! there was scarce a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the language of the Prophet Isaiah, *Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a nation meted out, and trodden down, whose lands the rivers have spoiled*, they made haste, and sent over, that they might get shares in the spoils of a murdered monarch.

Cardinal Mazarine, who, in the infancy of the French King, managed that sceptre, had long adored the conduct of Cromwell, and sought his friendship by a lower and viler application than was suitable to the purple of a Cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchase of the rich goods and jewels of the rifled Crown, of which he purchased the rich beds, hangings, and carpets, which furnished his palace at Paris. The King of Spain had, from the beginning of the rebellion, kept Don Alonzo de Cardinas, who had been his ambassador to the King, residing still at London,

don, and he had, upon several occasions, many audiences from the Parliament, and several treaties on foot; and as soon as this dismal murder was over, the ambassador, who had always a great malignity towards the King, bought as many pictures, and other precious goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being sent in ships to the Corunna in Spain, were carried from thence to Madrid upon eighteen mules. Christina, Queen of Sweden, purchased the choice of all the medals, and jewels, and some pictures of a great price, and received the Parliament's agent with great joy and pomp, and made an alliance with them. The Archduke Leopold, who was Governor of Flanders, disbursed a great sum of money for many of the best pictures, which adorned the several palaces of the King; which were all brought to him to Brussels, and from thence carried by him into Germany. In this manner did the neighbour Princes join to assist Cromwell with very great sums of money, whereby he was enabled to prosecute and finish his wicked victory over what yet remained unconquered, and to extinguish monarchy in this renowned kingdom: whilst they enriched and adorned themselves with the ruins and spoils of the surviving heir, without applying any part thereof to his relief, in the greatest necessities which ever King was subject to. And that which is stranger than all this, (since most men, by recovering their fortunes, use to recover most of what they were before robbed of, many who joined in the robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for the true owner), not one of all these Princes ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the King, after his blessed restoration.

Whilst these perfidious wretches had their hands still reeking in the precious blood of their Sovereign, they
were

were put upon a new piece of butchery, as necessary to the establishment of their new tyranny. The King was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, "that from this time England should be governed as a commonwealth by the Parliament;" that is, by that handfull of men, who by their wisdom and power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And because the number of those appeared very small, and the number of those they had excluded was as visible, they made an order and declaration, "that as many of the members who had been excluded, as would under their hands approve all that had been done during the time they were excluded, should return to their seats in the House without any prejudice for the future." Hereupon divers went again into the House, satisfying themselves that they were not guilty of the innocent royal blood that had been spilt; and so their number increased. They had made a new Great Seal, as hath been said, and called the commissioners, who were entrusted with the keeping thereof, *the Keepers of the Liberties of England*. And the Court of King's Bench they called the *Upper Bench*, and appointed certain persons to consider of such alterations as were necessary to be made in the laws of England, in regard of so important a mutation. That they might have some obligation of obedience from their subjects for the future, who had broken all the former oaths which they had taken, a new oath was prepared and established, which they called an *Engagement*; the form whereof was, that every man should swear, "that he would be true and faithful to the government established without King or House of Peers;" and whosoever refused to take that Engagement should be incapable of holding any place or office in Church or State. The necessity

An oath
imposed,
called the
Engage-
ment.

of taking which oath did not only exclude all of the royal party, but freed them from very many who had offices in Church and State, who, being of the Presbyterian party, durst not sacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And so they filled many considerable places, both in the one and the other, with men thoroughly prepared for their service. But before they could model and finish all this, and whilst it was preparing, they had, in several parts of the kingdom, terrified the people with blood-spectacles, in the executing many of the persons who had been taken. And, that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their subjects, the Peers of England, that they should hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental laws of the land were, a new High Court of Justice was appointed to sit for the trial of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, and another gentleman, one Sir John Owen, (who, having been heretofore a colonel in the King's army, had in a late insurrection in Wales killed the High Sheriff,) that they might see there should hereafter be no more distinction of quality in trials for life, but that the greatest lord and the commoners should undergo the same judicatory, and form of trial. Nor could it be thought unreasonable, that all the creations of the Crown should be determined by that jurisdiction to which the Crown itself had been subjected.

A new High Court of Justice sits; and several trials before them.

Duke Hamilton first tried.

Duke Hamilton could not well be thought other than a prisoner of war, and so not liable to a trial for his life. He had attempted to make an escape; in which he had so well succeeded, that he was out of his enemies' hands full three days; but being impatient to be at a greater distance from them, he was apprehended

as

as he was taking horse in Southwark; and carried prisoner into the Tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that High Court of Justice. He insisted upon "the right and privilege of the kingdom of Scotland; that it had not the least dependence upon the kingdom of England, but was entirely governed by its own laws: that he, being a subject of that kingdom, was bound to obey the commands thereof; and the Parliament of that kingdom having thought it necessary to raise an army for the relief of their King, and constituted him General of that army, it was not lawful for him to refuse the command thereof; and whatever misfortune he had undergone with it, he could not be understood to be liable to any punishment but what a prisoner of war was bound to undergo." He was told, "that the rights and laws of the kingdom of Scotland were not called in question, nor could be violated by their proceedings against him, who was a subject of England; against which he was charged with rebellion and treason: that they did not proceed against him as Duke Hamilton of Scotland, but as Earl of Cambridge in England, and they would judge him as such." The Earl of Holland was not at that time in a good disposition of health, and so answered little, as a man that would rather receive his life by their favour, than from the strength of his defence. The Earl of Norwich behaved himself with great submission to the Court, and with all those addresses as were most like to reconcile his judges to him, and to prevail over their affections. spoke of "his being bred up in the Court from his cradle, in the time of Queen Elizabeth; of his having been a servant to King James all his

Then the Earl of Holland.
The Earl of Norwich.

D d 2

"reign;

“reign; of his dependence upon Prince Harry; afterwards upon the late King; of the obligations he had to the Crown, and of his endeavours to serve it;” and concluded as a man that would be beholding to them, if they would give him leave to live.

The Lord
Capel.

The Lord Capel appeared undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction; “that in the condition and capacity of a soldier and a prisoner of war, he said, the lawyers and gownmen had nothing to do with him, and therefore he would not answer to any thing which they had said against him;” (Steel having treated him with great rudeness and insolence;) but insisted upon “the law of nations, which exempted all prisoners, though submitting to mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many days: which were long since expired.” He urged “the declaration which Fairfax the General had made to him, and the rest of the prisoners, after the death of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle; that no other of their lives should be in danger, which he had witnesses ready to prove, if they might be admitted;” and concluded, “that, if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he might be tried by his peers: which was his right by the laws of the land; the benefit whereof he required.” Ireton, who was present, and sat as one of his judges, denied “that the General had made any such promise, and if he had, that the Parliament’s authority could not be restrained thereby;” and put him in mind of his carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the General’s civility. The other insisted still on the promise; and urged “that the General might be sent for and examined;” which they knew not how to deny; but, in
regard

regard of his indisposition of health, they said they would send to him, whilst they proceeded against Sir John Owen, who was the other prisoner.

He answered them without any application, "that ^{Sir John Owen.} he was a plain gentleman of Wales, who had been always taught to obey the King; that he had served him honestly during the war, and finding afterwards that many honest men endeavoured to raise forces, whereby they might get him out of prison, he did the like; and the High Sheriff endeavoured to oppose him, and so chanced to be killed; which he might have avoided, if he had stayed at home:" and concluded like a man that did not much care what they resolved concerning him.

Whether the question was well stated to Fairfax, or what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning his declaration and promise, he boggled so much in his answer, that they would be of opinion, "that he had not made such direct and positive promise; and that the same was never transmitted to the Parliament; which it ought to have been; and that, at most, it could but exempt those prisoners from being tried before a court, or council of war, and could not be understood as an obligation upon the Parliament, not to give direction to such a legal proceeding against them, as they should find necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom." The president Bradshaw told the Lord Capel, with many insolent expressions, "that he was tried before such judges as the Parliament thought fit to assign him; and who had judged a better man than himself." So the sentence of death ^{All five} was pronounced against all five of them, "that they ^{con-} ^{demned.} should lose their heads;" upon which Sir John Owen made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks;

and being asked by a slander by, "what he meant?" he said aloud, "it was a very great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords;" and swore a great oath, "that he was afraid they would have hanged him."

The prisoners were all carried to St. James's; where they were to remain till their execution two days after; which time their friends and relations had to endeavour to preserve their lives by the power and authority of the Parliament; where there were so many sitting who had not fate in judgment upon them, and who were of several affections, and liable to several temptations, that there might be a reasonable hope to rescue them from the cruel and unjust judgment. Their wives, and children, and friends, left no way untried to prevail; offered and gave money to some who were willing to receive it, and made promises accordingly. But they who had the greatest credit, and most power to terrify others who should displease them, were inexorable; yet dealt so much more honestly than the rest, that they declared to the ladies, who solicited for their husbands and their fathers, "that they would not endeavour to do them service." Ireton, above all men, continued his insolent and dogged humour, and told them, "if he had credit, they should all die." Others, who gave better words, had no better meaning than he.

All their petitions were read in order, being penned in such styles as the friends, who solicited for them, were advised. Duke Hamilton's petition being read, many, upon the motives of justice, and as they imagined his death might be the occasion of new troubles between the two nations, since Scotland could not but resent it, would have been willing he should live. But he had fewer friends to his person than any of the rest; and

and Cromwell knew well that his being out of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the peace of that kingdom depended: so that when his petition was read, it was rejected by very much the major part of voices. The consideration of the Earl of Holland took up a long debate: the interest and interposition of the Earl of Warwick, his brother, was applied; and every Presbyterian, to a man, was solicitous to preserve him. They urged "his merit towards the Parliament in the beginning of the troubles; how much he had suffered in the Court for his affection to them: his age and infirmities, which would not suffer him long to enjoy that life they should give him: and the consideration of his wife, and children, which were numerous." But these arguments stirred up others to inveigh against his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to undervalue the services he had ever done; to tax his vanities, and his breach of faith. When the question was put concerning him, they who were for the negative exceeded the number of the other by three or four votes; Cromwell having more than an ordinary animosity against him, for his behaviour in the beginning of the summer, and for some words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himself. The Earl of Norwich came next upon the stage; who, having always lived a cheerful and jovial life, without contracting many enemies, had many there who wished him well, and few who had animosity against him: so that when the question was put concerning him, the house was equally divided, the votes which rejected his petition, and those which would preserve his life, were equal: so that his life or death depended upon the single vote of the Speaker; who told the House, "that he had received many obli-

"tions from that lord; and that once when he had been like to have incurred the King's displeasure, by some misinformation, which would have been very penal to him, the Lord Goring" (under which style he was treated, the additional of Norwich not being allowed by them upon their old rule) "had by his credit preserved him, and removed the prejudice that was against him; and therefore he was obliged in gratitude to give his vote for the saving him." By this good fortune he came to be preserved; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the Speaker made it only as an excuse for saving any man's life who was put to ask it in that place.

The Lord Capel, shortly after he was brought prisoner to the Tower from Windsor Castle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a cord and all things necessary conveyed to him, let himself down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might be best able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no safer place, he found the water and the mud so deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he must have perished, since the water came up to his chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much mud so intolerable, that his spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the prison, than to be found in such a place, from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleased God, that he got at last to the other side; where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the temple; where he remained two or three nights secure
from

from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence that could not but be used to recover a man they designed to use no better. After two or three days, a friend whom he trusted much, and who deserved to be trusted, conceiving that he might be more secure in a place to which there was less resort, and where there were so many harboured who were every day sought after, had provided a lodging for him in a private house in Lambeth Marsh; and calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple stairs, than to trust one of that people with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only boat left there. In that the Lord Capel (as well disguised as he thought necessary) and his friend put themselves, and bid the waterman row them to Lambeth. Whether, in their passage thither, the other gentleman called him *my Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise, when they were landed, the wicked waterman, undiscerned, followed them, till he saw into what house they went; and then went to an officer, and demanded, "what he would give him to bring him to the place where the Lord Capel lay?" And the officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the house, where that excellent person was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

When the petition, that his wife had delivered, was read, many gentlemen spoke on his behalf; and mentioned the great virtues which were in him; and "that he had never deceived them, or pretended to be of their party; but always resolutely declared himself for the King:" and Cromwell, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed

to

to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, "that his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the question was now, whether they would preserve the most bitter and the most implacable enemy they had: that he knew the Lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition." Ireton's hatred was immortal; he spoke of him, and against him, as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were swayed by the argument that had been urged against Duke Hamilton, "that God was not pleased that he should escape, because he had put him into their hands again, when he was at liberty," And so, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few who had a particular malice or prejudice towards him, the question being put, the negative was more by three or four voices: so that of the four Lords, three were without the mercy of that unmerciful people. There being no other petition presented, Ireton told them, "there had been great endeavours and solicitation used to save all those lords; but that there was a commoner, another condemned person, for whom no one man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so much as petitioned them; and therefore he desired, that Sir John Owen might be preserved by the mere motive
"and

and goodness of the House itself;” which found little opposition; whether they were fatiated with blood, or that they were willing, by this instance, that the nobility should see that a commoner should be preferred before them.

A scaffold was erected before Westminster Hall, and all the prisoners condemned were brought from St. James's, (as well the two who were reprieved, as the three who were to suffer,) upon the ninth of March, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a month after the murder of the King, to Sir Thomas Cotton's house, at the upper end of Westminster Hall; where they were suffered to repose themselves about the space of an hour, and then were led successively through the Hall to the scaffold, Duke Hamilton being first; who seemed yet to have some hope of a reprieve, and made some stay in the Hall, till the Earl of Denbigh came to him; and, after a short whisper, in which he found there was no hope, he ascended the scaffold. He complained much of “the injustice that was done him; and that he was “put to death for obeying the laws of his country; “which if he had not done, he must have been put to “death there.” He acknowledged the obligations he had to the King, and seemed not sorry for the gratitude he had expressed, how dear soever it cost him. His natural darkness, and reservation in his discourse, made him to be thought a wise man, and his having been in command under the King of Sweden, and his continual discourses of battles, and fortifications, made him be thought a great soldier. And both these mistakes were the cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and a more dangerous man, than in truth he deserved to be.

Duke Hamilton be-
headed
March 9.

The

The Earl of
Holland
the same
day.

The Earl of Holland was brought next, who, by his long sickness, was so spent, that his spirits served not to entertain the people with long discourse. He spoke of "his religion, as a matter unquestionable, by the education he had had in the religious family of which he was a branch:" which was thought a strange discourse for a dying man, who, though a son, knew enough of the iniquity of his father's house, which should rather have been buried in silence, than, by such an unseasonable testimony, have been revived in the memory and discourse of men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to Parliaments, than a good servant to his master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his duty to him, which most good men believed to be the source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred man, and a fine gentleman in good times; but too much desired to enjoy ease and plenty, when the King could have neither; and did think poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have lived long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood followed.

The Lord
Capel.

The Lord Capel was then called; who walked through Westminster Hall, saluting such of his friends and acquaintance as he saw there, with a very serene countenance, accompanied with his friend Dr. Morley; who had been with him from the time of his sentence; but, at the foot of the scaffold, the soldiers stopping the Doctor, his Lordship took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and said, he should go no farther, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by that rude people after his death; the chaplains who attended the two other lords being
men

men of the time, and the Doctor being well known to the most contrary.

As soon as his Lordship had ascended the scaffold, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, "whether the other lords had spoken to the people with their hats on?" and being told, that "they were bare;" he gave his hat to his servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice he said, "that he was brought thither to die for doing that which he could not repent of: that he had been born and bred under the government of a King whom he was bound in conscience to obey; under laws, to which he had been always obedient; and in the bosom of a Church, which he thought the best in the world: that he had never violated his faith to either of those, and was now condemned to die against all the laws of the land; to which sentence he did submit."

He enlarged himself in commending "the great virtue and piety of the King, whom they had put to death; who was so just and so merciful a Prince;" and prayed to God, "to forgive the nation that innocent blood." Then he recommended to them the present King; "who," he told them, "was their true and their lawful Sovereign; and was worthy to be so: that he had the honour to have been some years near his person, and therefore he could not but know him well;" and assured them, "that he was a Prince of great understanding, of an excellent nature, of great courage, an entire lover of justice, and of exemplary piety: that he was not to be shaken in his religion; and had all those princely virtues, which could make a nation happy:" and therefore advised them "to submit to his government, as the only means to preserve themselves, their posterity, and the Protestant religion."

"religion." And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his knees, he submitted himself, with an unparalleled christian courage, to the fatal stroke which deprived the nation of the noblest champion it had.

The Lord
Capel's
character.

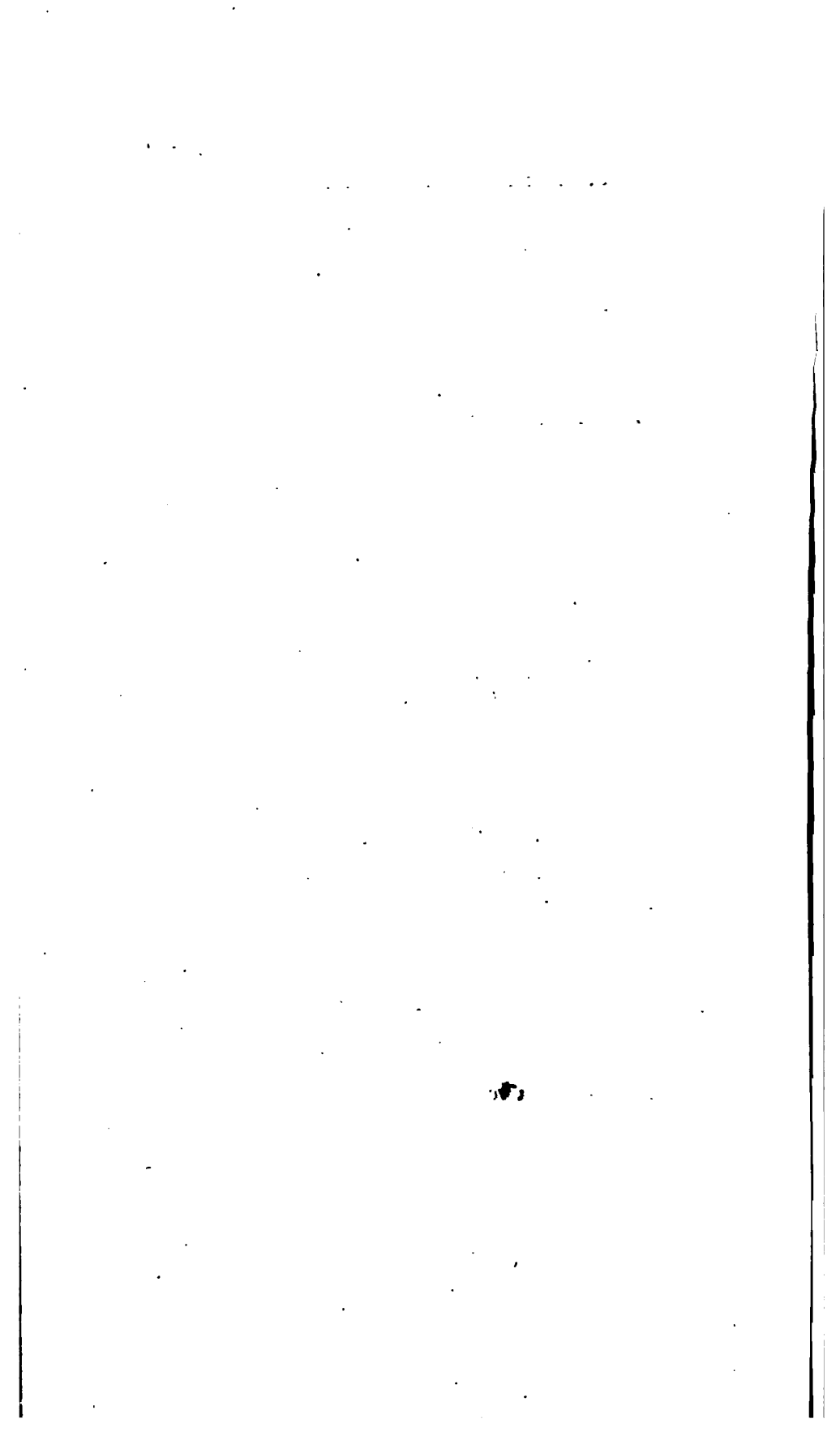
He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own character well described; and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under this government. His memory all men loved and revered, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

And yet the King's honour was no sooner violated and his just power invaded, than he threw all these blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some remission of his

his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and, with the same cheerfulness, to obey the first summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a man, that whoever shall, after him, deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear, that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel.

So ended the year one thousand six hundred forty eight; a year of reproach and infamy above all years which had passed before it; a year of the highest diffimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest villainy and most bloody treasons, that any nation was ever cursed with, or under: a year, in which the memory of all the transactions ought to be rased out of all records, lest, by the success of it, atheism, infidelity, and rebellion, should be propagated in the world: a year, of which we may say, as the historian said of the time of Domitian, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute*; or, as the same writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur*.

The conclusion and character of the year 1648.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XII.

2 CHRON. XXVIII. 10.

And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen and bondwomen unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord your God?

ISAIAH XXIX. 10.

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the prophets and your rulers, the seers hath he covered.

WHILST these tragedies were acting a long time, and ordinances formed, as hath been said, to make it penal in the highest degree for any man to assume the title of King, or to acknowledge any man to be the King himself remained in a very disgraceful condition at the Hague. Though he had known the situation of his father was long in, yet he was so surprised him, that he was in a great measure

ginable, and all about him were almost bereft of their understanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceived, with what a consternation this terrible news was received by all, even by the common people of the country. There was a woman at the Hague, of the middling rank, who, being with child, with the horror of the mention of it fell into travel, and in it died. There could not be more evidence of a general detestation, than there was, amongst all men of what quality soever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the King's recollection, the States presented themselves in a body to his Majesty, to condole with him for the murder of his father, in terms of great sorrow, save that there was not bitterness enough against the rebels and murderers. The States of Holland, afterwards performed the same civility towards his Majesty; and the body of the Clergy, in a Latin oration, delivered by the chief preacher of the Hague, lamented the misfortune, in terms of as much asperity, and detestation of the actors, as unworthy the name of Christians as could be expressed.

The States
condole
with him.

The desperateness of the King's condition could not excuse his sinking under the burthen of his grief: but those who were about him besought him to resume so much courage as was necessary for his present state. He thereupon caused those of his father's Council who had attended him to be sworn of his Privy Council, adding only Mr. Long his secretary: who, before, was not of the Council. All which was done before he heard from the Queen his mother; who, notwithstanding the great agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of sorrow as she was able to sustain, wrote to the King, "that he could not do better, than to repair into France as soon as was possible."

The new
Council
sworn.

The
Queen's
first mes-
sage to him.

“ possible, and, in the mean time, desired him not to swear any persons to be of his Council, till she could speak with him.” Whether it was, that she did not think those persons to be enough at her devotion ; or that she would have them receive that honour upon her recommendation.

The King himself had no mind to go into France, where he thought he had not been treated with excess of courtesy ; and he resolved to perform all filial respect towards the Queen his mother, without such a condescension and resignation of himself, as she expected ; and, to avoid all eclairsissements upon that subject, he heartily desired that any other course might be found more counsellable than that he should go into France. He himself lived with and upon the Prince of Orange ; who supplied him with all things necessary for his own person, for his mourning, and the like : but towards any other support for himself and his family, his Majesty had not enough to maintain near one day : and there were very few of them who could maintain themselves in the most private way ; and it was visible enough, that they should not be long to reside in the Hague ; where there was, at that time, an agent for the Parliament, Smith : who had been there some years, but pretended not to reside there with his wife, (who was born in English parents), and without any public character, though he was still under the same credentials and certificates from London as if he were an agent of the Parliament had nominated one, who was sent as their ambassador, or sent them an account of their affairs, or enter into an alliance with them, or to think of some other

The King
thinks of
going into
Ireland.
The affairs
there at
that time.

appeared then so seasonable in their view, as Ireland: from whence they heard, “ that Prince Rupert was “ arrived safely at Kinsale with the fleet: that the Lord “ Inchiquin had made a cessation with the Irish, before “ the Lord Lieutenant came thither; and the Irish “ had deserted the Pope’s Nuncio, who was driven “ away, and had embarked himself for France: that “ the Marquis of Ormond was received by the Lord “ Inchiquin with all the obedience imaginable, by “ which he became entirely possessed of the whole “ province of Munster; and that the confederate Ro- “ man Catholics had invited him to Kilkenny; where “ he had made a full peace with them: so that they “ were preparing an army to march under his com- “ mand against Dublin.” This news made them hope that every day would improve it so much, that it would be fit for the King to transport his own person thither in the spring.

The King
proclaimed
in Scot-
land: and
commis-
sioners
thence
sent to him.

In this conjuncture there arrived a gentleman, our Sir Joseph Douglass, with a letter from the Privy Council of Scotland, by which they sent his Majesty word, that they had proclaimed him King of Scotland and sent him the proclamation; and wished “ that he “ would prepare himself to repair into that his king- “ dom; in order to which they would speedily send “ another invitation to him.” And that invitation arrived at the same time with some commissioners deputed by the Council, and three or four preachers sent from the commissioners of the Kirk. The proclamation indeed declared, “ for that as much as the late “ King was, contrary to the dissent and protestation of “ that kingdom, removed by a violent death, that, by “ the Lord’s blessing, there was left unto them a “ righteous heir, and lawful successor, Charles &c.

“ who

“ who was become their true and lawful King ;” but upon condition of “ his good behaviour, and strict observation of the Covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation.” A proclamation so strangely worded, that, though it called him their King, manifested enough to him, that he was to be subject to their determinations, in all the parts of his government. And the commissioners, both laity and clergy, spoke no other language ; and saying that they bowed their bodies, and made low reverences, they appeared more like ambassadors from a free state to an equal ally, than like subjects sent to their own Sovereign. At the same time, though not in the same ship, arrived likewise from Scotland the Earl of Lanrick, and Earl of Lautherdale ; the former not knowing, till he came into Holland, that he was Duke Hamilton by the slaughter of his elder brother. But they two were so far from having any authority from their country, that they were fled from thence as proscribed persons and malefactors. The Earl of Lautherdale, after his departure from the Hague, in that discontent that is mentioned before, bent his course for Scotland. But before he came thither, he was informed, that the state of all things had been reversed, and the Engagement declared unlawful, and to what penalties himself was liable, if he should be taken. Whereupon, without suffering his ship to go into any port, he found means to send on shore to some friends, and so to concert all things, that, without being discovered, the Earl of Lanrick, and some other persons, liable to danger if they were found, put themselves on board the same ship, and arrived in Holland about that time when the other messengers from the State and from the Kirk came from

Scotland, and when the news came of the execution of Duke Hamilton.

The character of this Duke Hamilton.

Whereupon the new Duke kept his chamber for some days, without so much as waiting on the King: who sent a gracious message to him to condole for the loss of his brother; and all the lords, and other persons of quality about the King, made their visits to him with all civility. This Duke was not inferior in wisdom, and parts of understanding, to the wisest man of that nation, and was very much esteemed by those who did not like the complying and insinuating nature of his brother. He was a man of great honour, courage, and sincerity in his nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the men of that time, was still the same man he pretended to be; and had very much to say in his own defence for the errors he had run into; which he acknowledged always with great ingenuity, and abhorred the whole proceedings of his countrymen; and, at this time, brought a heart and affection clearer and less clogged with scruples and reservations for the King's service, than any other of them did.

The condition of Scotland about this time.

Though Cromwell, at his being in Scotland, had left Argyle in full possession of the government there, and had reduced and disbanded all those who were in arms against him, and promised him all necessary assistance to subdue those who should rise against him in that kingdom for the future, and thereby compelled the Committee of Estates to convene and summon the Parliament, to assemble, which they had authority to do; and so he had suppressed the party of Hamilton, driven the Earl of Lanrick to hide himself in some obscure place, and condemned the Engagement as unlawful and sinful, and all the persons who advanced and promoted it, as deserters of the Covenant, and so to stand

stand excommunicated, and not to be capable of serving in Parliament, or in the Council of Estate; so that he was sure to find no opposition in whatsoever he proposed; yet, after the Parliament had served him so far, when they heard that the Parliament in England was broken, and their freedom and privileges were taken from them by the insolence and power of the army, (which they perfectly hated and detested, and all those sects and libertinism they heard were introduced in religion contrary to their Covenant, which Cromwell himself had promised should be strictly observed,) they began to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the Covenant itself. The delivery of the King's person into the hands of the Parliament at Newcastle had been, in the ~~interest~~ it was done, the most unpopular and ungracious act to the whole nation of Scotland, that it had been ~~guilty~~ guilty of, and to the army they had then on foot. ~~which~~ took itself to be deeply wounded by the ~~interest~~ and was therefore quickly disbanded by the ~~army~~ Argyle: and the universal indignation ~~against~~ this action was the principal incitement to the ~~engagement~~ engagement with Duke Hamilton, ~~that~~ the nation might in some degree be ~~restored~~ deemed. It was a gross oversight in the ~~Hamiltonian~~ party, and discerned then to be so by the ~~army~~ ~~rich~~, that, upon that popular ~~advice~~ would have found an universal ~~consent~~ himself and all his faction ~~had~~ pressed, for the redemption of the country. But that Duke's ~~policy~~ and, so he might ~~return~~ England, of which he ~~was~~

willing to give a new beginning to those bloody enterprises in Scotland, which, he knew well, used not to be short-lived in that climate after once begun, but had always fresh sacrifices of blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

Commissioners had been sent from the Parliament of Scotland before the death of the King, to the Parliament of England.

They had no sooner heard of the erection of a High Court of Justice, and of a purpose of trying the King for his life, than, notwithstanding all the artifices Argyle could use, they were all in a flame. As well the Assembly of the Kirk, as the Parliament, renewed the sense they always had of reproach in the delivery of his person, of which the present danger he was in was the consequence: And the Marquis of Argyle had had too deep a share in that wickedness, to endure the shock of a new dispute, and inquisition upon that subject: and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion; but seemed equally concerned in the honour of the nation, to prosecute an high expostulation with those of England, for the breach of faith, and the promises, which had been made for the safety and preservation of the King's person, at the time he was delivered up; and therefore proposed "that commissioners should be forthwith sent to the Parliament at London, to require the performance of what they had promised, and to enter their dissent and protestation against all their proceedings against their King, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland." And the Earl of Lothian, and two others, who were known to be most zealous for the Covenant, and most enraged and incensed against the proceedings of the army, were made choice of, and presently sent away, that they might make all possible haste to Westminster, and were, immediately upon their arrival, to demand permission

mission to wait upon the King, wherever he should be, and to receive from him such farther directions, as he should judge necessary for his service.

Thus far Argyle could not oppose; and therefore was as zealous as any man to advance it; knowing that the particular instructions must be prepared by a less number of men, and not subjected to the examination and perusal of so many. And in those, he was sure to prevent any inconvenient powers to be granted to the commissioners, with whom he had credit enough, having made the Earl of Lothian Secretary of State, in the place of the Earl of Lanrick, and the other two being (however solicitous for the due observation of the Covenant, as he himself likewise pretended to be) known to be most averse from the Hamiltonian party.

Their private instructions were, "that they should not," Their private instructions from Argyle's party.
 "in their enlargements and aggravations upon the subject of their message, seem to take notice, or to imply, that any violence had been used against the Parliament, or any member of it: that they should be so short in their expostulations, that they gave no occasion of offence: that nothing should fall from them justifying the King's proceedings, nor in approbation of the late engagement, or which might import a breach, or give, or be ground of a new war: that they should urge, that the Parliament would delay to meddle with the King's person, according to their several promises and declarations at Newcastle and at Holmby: that if they should proceed to sentence against the King, then they were to enter their dissent, and protest, that this kingdom may be free from the miseries which will inevitably follow, without offering in their reasons, that Princes are exempted from trial and justice; that none in the Parliament of
 "Scotland

"Scotland hath or had any hand in the proceedings
 "against the King, or members of Parliament in Eng-
 "land. If they proceed, then to shew the calamities
 "that will follow, and how grievous it must be to the
 "kingdom of Scotland, considering his being de-
 "livered up at Newcastle: that if the papers which
 "were entitled, *The Agreement of the People*, appeared
 "to be countenanced, and should import any thing
 "concerning the proceßing of the Prince, or changing
 "the fundamental government of the kingdom, they
 "should enter their dissent: that they should alter
 "those their instructions, and manage their trust
 "therein, according to the advice they should receive
 "from their friends there: that they should prosecute
 "their instructions concerning the Covenant, and
 "against any toleration: that they should shew, that
 "the King's last concessions were unsatisfactory to
 "those propositions which they had made in point of
 "religion."

Upon the
 King's trial
 they enter
 their pro-
 testation
 and dissent.

These were their private instructions; and who
 those friends at London were, by whose advice they
 were to alter their instructions, or manage their trust
 therein, can be understood of no other men but Crom-
 well, and young Sir Harry Vane; with whom Argyll
 held close correspondence. The commissioners ob-
 served their instructions very faithfully, and, after the
 King had been twice brought before the High Court
 of Justice, they gave in their very calm protestation:
 in which they put them in mind, "that they had,
 "near three weeks before, represented to them what en-
 "deavours had been used for taking away the King's
 "life, and for the change of the fundamental govern-
 "ment of the kingdom, and introducing a sinful and
 "ungodly toleration in matters of religion; and that
 "therein

" therein they had expressed their thoughts, and fears
 " of the dangerous consequences, that might follow
 " thereupon; and that they had also earnestly pressed,
 " that there might be no farther proceeding against his
 " Majesty's person, which would certainly continue the
 " great distractions of the kingdom, and involve them
 " in many evils, troubles, and confusions; but that,
 " by the free counsels of both Houses of Parliament
 " of England, and with the advice and consent of the
 " Parliament of Scotland, such course might be taken
 " in relation to the King, as might be for the good and
 " happiness of both kingdoms; both having an un-
 " questionable and undeniable right in his person, as
 " King of both; which duly considered, they had rea-
 " son to hope, that it would have given a stop to all
 " farther proceedings against his Majesty's person. But
 " now understanding that after the imprisonment and
 " exclusion of divers members of the House of Com-
 " mons, and without and against the consent of the
 " House of Peers, by a single act of their own, and
 " theirs alone, power was given to certain persons of
 " their own members, of the army, and some others,
 " to proceed against his Majesty's person, in order
 " whereunto he had been brought before that extraor-
 " dinary new Court; they did therefore in the name
 " of the Parliament of Scotland, for their vindication
 " from false aspersions and calumnies, declare, that
 " though they were not satisfied with his Majesty's late
 " concessions, in the treaty at Newport in the Isle of
 " Wight, especially in the matters of religion, and were
 " resolved not to crave his restoration to his govern-
 " ment, before satisfaction should be given by him to
 " that kingdom; yet they did all unanimously with
 " one voice, not one member excepted, ~~and~~

“least knowledge of, or occasion to, the late proceedings of the army here against the King; and did sincerely profess that it would be a great grief to their hearts, and lie heavy upon their spirits, if they should see the trusting his Majesty’s person to the two Houses of the Parliament of England to be made use of to his ruin, contrary to the declared intentions of the kingdom of Scotland, and solemn professions of the kingdom of England: and to the end that it might be manifest to the world, how much they did abominate and detest so horrid a design against his Majesty’s person, they did, in the name of the Parliament and kingdom of Scotland, declare their dissent from the said proceedings, and the taking away of his Majesty’s life; protesting, that as they were altogether free from the same, so they might be free from all the miseries, evil consequences, and calamities, that might follow thereupon to the distracted kingdoms.”

Whoever considers the wariness in the wording and timing this protestation, the best end whereof could be no other than the keeping the King always in prison, and so governing without him in both kingdoms, (which was thought to have been the purpose and agreement of Cromwell and Argyle when they parted), must conclude that both the commissioners, and they who sent them, laboured and considered more, what they were to say in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the present mischief they seemed to apprehend. And the Parliament best knew their temper, when they deferred taking notice of their protestation, till after they had executed their execrable villainy; and then they sent them an answer that might suit with all their palates. They said, “they had heretofore
“told

“ told them, what power this nation had in the funda-
 “ mentals of government: that if Scotland had not
 “ the same power and liberty, as they went not about
 “ to confine them, so they would not be limited by
 “ them, but leaving them to act in theirs as they
 “ should see cause, they resolved to maintain their own
 “ liberties as God should enable them. And as they
 “ were very far from imposing upon them, so they
 “ should not willingly suffer impositions from them,
 “ whilst God gave them strength or lives to oppose
 “ them.” They said, “ the answer they made to their
 “ first and second letter was, that after a long and se-
 “ rious deliberation of their own intrinsical power, and
 “ trust, (derived to them by the providence of God,
 “ through the delegation of the people,) and upon the
 “ like considerations of what themselves and the whole
 “ nation had suffered from the misgovernment and ty-
 “ ranny of that King, both in peace, and by the wars,
 “ and considering, how fruitless and full of danger and
 “ prejudice the many addresses to him for peace had
 “ been, and being conscious how much they had pro-
 “ voked and tempted God, by the neglect of the im-
 “ partial execution of justice, in relation to the inno-
 “ cent blood spilt and mischief done in the late wars,
 “ they had proceeded in such a course of justice against
 “ that man of blood, as they doubted not the just God
 “ (who is no respecter of persons) did approve and
 “ would countenance with his blessings upon the na-
 “ tion; and though perhaps they might meet with
 “ many difficulties before their liberties and peace were
 “ settled, yet they hoped they should be preserved from
 “ confusion, by the good will of him who dwelt in the
 “ bush, which burned, and was not consumed; and
 “ that the course they had taken with the late King,
 “ and

The Par-
 liament
 after the
 King's
 murder
 send their
 answer
 to it.

“ and meant to follow towards others the capital enemies of their peace, was; they hoped, that which would be for the good and happiness of both nations; of which if that of Scotland would think to make use, and vindicate their own liberty and freedom, (which lay before them, if they gave them not away,) they would be ready to give them all neighbourly and friendly assistance in the establishing thereof; and desired them to take it into their most serious consideration, before they espoused that quarrel, which could bring them no other advantage than the entailing upon them, and their posterities, a lasting war, with all the miseries which attended it, and slavery under a tyrant and his issue.”

It cannot be denied, but that Scotland had by this a fair invitation to have made themselves a poor republic, under the shelter and protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the commissioners, who well knew how unsuitable such a change would be to the constitution of their government, and that they might be welcome to their own country, whether they were now to repair, made a reply to this answer with more courage than they had yet expressed; for which, notwithstanding their qualification, they were imprisoned by the Parliament; and, upon new instance from Scotland, set at liberty afterwards.

The commissioners reply, and are imprisoned, but afterwards freed.

The Marquis of Argyle clogs the Act for proclaiming of the King with a clause for the Covenant.

Matters being reduced to this state, the Marquis of Argyle could not hinder the new King's being acknowledged and proclaimed King, nor from being invited home; which since he could not obstruct, it would be his master-piece to clog the proclamation itself with such conditions as might terrify the new King from accepting the invitation; and therefore he caused this clause to be inserted in the body of the proclamation itself,

itself, "because his Majesty is bound, by the law of
 "God and the fundamental laws of this kingdom, to
 "rule in righteousness and equity to the honour of
 "God, and the good of religion, and the wealth of the
 "people; it is hereby declared, that before he be ad-
 "mitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall
 "give satisfaction to this kingdom in those things
 "which concern the security of religion, the unity be-
 "twixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace of this
 "kingdom, according to the national Covenant and so-
 "lemn League and Covenant; for which end, they were
 "resolved, with all possible expedition, to make their
 "humble and earnest address to his Majesty."

This was the proclamation that Sir Joseph Douglass
 brought to the Hague, and the subject upon which the
 commissioners were to invite his Majesty to go for Scot-
 land, whose instructions were very suitable to the pro-
 clamations: and at the same time when the commis-
 sioners came from thence, Middleton, and some other
 officers, who had been in their last army, hearing that Middleton
 assembles
 some troops
 in Scot-
 land. the Prince was proclaimed King, thought it was sea-
 sonable to put themselves into a posture to serve him
 upon his arrival; and so assembled some of those troops
 which had formerly served under them in the north
 of Scotland; whereupon David Lesley was appointed
 forthwith, with a party of horse and foot, against those
 royalists, whom they knew to be real assertors of his
 cause, without any other interest or design than of their
 performing their duties, as loyal subjects ought to do:
 and the Kirk at the same time declared, "that, before
 "the King should be received, albeit they had declared
 "his right by succession, he should first sign the Co-
 "venant, submit to the Kirk's censure, renounce the
 "sins of his father's house, and the iniquity of his mo-
 "ther,"

"ther," with other things of the like nature. All which information arrived at the same time with the commissioners, that they who were about the King might not be too much exalted with their master's being declared King of one of his three kingdoms. And it was very manifest, by all that passed then and afterwards, that the Marquis of Argyle meant *only to satisfy the people*, in declaring that they had a King, without which they could not be satisfied, but that such conditions should be put upon him, as he knew he would not submit to; and so he should be able, with the concurrence of the Kirk, to govern the kingdom, till, by Cromwell's assistance and advice, he might reverse that little approach he had made towards monarchy by proclaiming a King.

Factions in
the King's
Court with
reference to
Scotland.

It was a great misfortune to the King, and which always attends Courts which labour under great wants and necessities, that, whilst the greatest union imaginable amongst the few friends he had was necessary, and of too little power to buoy him up from the distresses which overwhelmed him, there was yet so great a faction and animosity amongst them, that destroyed any the most probable design that could offer itself; as it now fell out with reference to Scotland, which, if united, might yet be able to give reputation at least, if not a vigorous assistance to the King's interest.

The Mar-
quis of
Mountrose
arrives in
France.

The Marquis of Mountrose, who hath been mentioned before, had been obliged by the late King to lay down his arms; and after he had performed such wonderful actions in Scotland, and left that kingdom upon his Majesty's first coming into the Scottish army to Newcastle, had first arrived in France, and had not such a reception from the Queen of England, and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable ser-

vices

vices he had performed for the King had merited. The truth is, he was somewhat elated with the great actions he had done; which, upon his first coming to Paris, he caused to be published in a full relation in Latin, dedicated to the Prince of Wales; in which, as his own person, courage, and conduct, was well extolled, so the reputation of all the rest of that nation (upon whose affections the Queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and depressed; which obliged the Queen and the Prince to look less graciously upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much disturbance at it. He was then a man of *eclat*, had many servants, and more officers, who had served under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the Queen should enable him to maintain with some lustre, by a liberal assignation of monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in straits enough, and never open-handed, and used to pay the best services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her graces were still more towards those who were like to do services, than to those who had done them. So that, after a long attendance, and some overtures made by him to Cardinal Mazarine, to raise an army for the service of that King, which he did not think were received with that regard his great name deserved, the Marquis left France, and made a journey into Germany to the Emperor's Court, desiring ^{Thence goes into Germany.} to see armies, till he could come to command them; and was returned to Brussels, about the time that the Prince came back into Holland with the fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for some time, till he heard of the murder of the late King. Then he sent to the King with the tender of his service, and to know, "if his Majesty thought his attendance upon

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“ him might bring any prejudice to his Majesty ; and “ if so, that he would send over the Chancellor of the “ Exchequer to Sevenbergh, a town in Flanders, where “ he was at present to expect him, and had matters to “ communicate to him of much importance to his Majesty’s service.” Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his Majesty’s pleasure, or out of some vanity, that he might seem to come to the King, after the coldness he had met at Paris, by a kind of treaty, the King commanded the Chancellor presently to go to him ; and, “ if he could, without expending him,” (which he had no mind to do), wished, “ he might be persuaded rather for some time to suspend his coming to the Hague, than presently to appear there ;” which was an injunction very disagreeable to the Chancellor ; who in his judgment believed his Majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that nation in his esteem.

The sudden violent frost, which shut up all the rivers in less than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting ; but, within a short time after, and upon another message from him, they met at a village three or four miles off the Hague ; whither the Marquis was come. The Chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left Oxford, when he seemed to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgment of other men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal actions, won so many battles, and in truth made so great a noise in the world, that there appeared no less alteration to be in his humour and discourse, than there had been in his fortune. He seemed rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the King, and how to make a party that would be fast to him, than out of any

The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent to confer with him in a village near the Hague.

any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his Majesty. There was yet no news from Scotland since the murder of the King, and he seemed to think of nothing but that the King would presently send him thither with some forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that night together in conference, and the next morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or somewhere else, until he might give him notice, what the King's sense should be of the matters discoursed between them; insisting principally, "that, "if his going into Scotland should be thought presently "to be necessary, it would then be as necessary, that he "should not be taken notice of publicly to have been "with the King:" with which reason he seemed satisfied; and promised "not to come to the Hague, till he should "first receive advice from the Chancellor." But when he heard of the commissioners being come from Scotland, and of the other lords' arrival there, he would no longer defer his journey thither, but came to the Hague well attended by servants and officers, and presented himself to the King; who received him with a very good countenance.

The Mar-
quis comes
to the
Hague.

There were at this time in the Hague the commissioners who came from the Council and the Kirk to invite the King into Scotland, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Lautherdale, and others of the nobility of that faction, who were now as odious, and as much persecuted by that party, which then governed Scotland, and which in that manner invited the King, as any men were who had served the King from the beginning. There was also the Marquis of Mountrose, with more of the nobility, as the Earls of Seaford, and

The parties of the Scots now at the Hague.

Kinoul, and others, who adhered to Mountrose, and believed his clear spirit to be most like to advance the King's service. Of these three parties, it might reasonably have been hoped that the two last, being equally persecuted by the power that governed, should have been easily united to have suppressed the other. But it was a business too hard for the King to bring to pass; and he could as easily have persuaded the Parliament to reject Cromwell, as the lords of the Engagement, and those who had joined with Duke Hamilton, to be reconciled to Mountrose: so that when the King hoped to have drawn all the Scottish nobility together, to have consulted what answer he should give to the messages he had received from the Council and the Kirk, with which they themselves were enough offended, those lords of the Engagement did not only refuse to meet with the Lord Mountrose, but, as soon as he came into the room where they were, though his Majesty himself was present, they immediately withdrew, and left the room; and had the confidence to desire the King, "that the Marquis of Mountrose" (whom they called James Graham) "might be forbidden to come into his Majesty's presence, or Court, because he stood excommunicated by the Kirk of Scotland, and degraded and forfeited by the judicatory of that kingdom." This proposition and demand they made confidently in writing under their hands, and abounded so much in this sense, that a learned and worthy Scottish divine, Dr. Wishart, who was then chaplain to a Scottish regiment in the service of the States, being appointed to preach before the King on the Sunday following, they formally besought the King, "that he would not suffer him to preach before him, nor to come into his presence, because he

" stood

“ stood excommunicated by the Kirk of Scotland, for
“ having refused to take the Covenant ;” though it was
known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had
against that Divine was, that they knew he was the au-
thor of the excellent relation of the Lord Mountrose’s
actions in Scotland. This carriage and behaviour of
those lords appeared ridiculous to all sober men, that
any men should have the presumption to accuse those
who had served the King with that fidelity, and were
only branded by those rebellious judicatories for having
performed their duties of allegiance, and to demand
that the King himself should condemn them for having
served his father : which made those of his Majesty’s
Council full of indignation at their insolence, and his
Majesty himself declared his being offended, by using
the Marquis of Mountrose with the more countenance,
and hearing the Doctor preach with the more attention.
But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his Ma-
jesty’s desire being frustrated, of receiving the joint ad-
vice of the nobility of that kingdom in an affair that so
much concerned himself and them ; and besides the
displeasure, and distance, that it caused between them
and the King’s Council, (who thought the Scottish
lords might as reasonably move the King, that they
might be removed, who lay under the same brand and
reproaches in England for adhering to the Crown, as
the other did in Scotland), the King had reason to be
troubled with another apprehension, which was, that
the Marquis of Mountrose (who could not be ignorant
of any thing which the other persons said or did)
would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon
those persons whom he contemned too much ; and so
that the peace of the country, where his Majesty was
but a guest, would be violated by his subjects, as it

were in his own sight ; which would make his absence from thence the more desirable.

He, to whom this unreasonable animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great fomenter and prosecutor of it, was the Earl of Lautherdale ; whose fiery spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the Council conferring one day with him upon a subject that could not put him into passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desired him “ to inform him, what foul offence the Marquis of Mountrose had ever committed, that should hinder those to make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the rebels, were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who could not more desire the King’s restitution than he did.” The Earl told him calmly enough, “ that he could not imagine or conceive the barbarities and inhumanities Mountrose was guilty of, in the time he made a war in Scotland ; that he never gave quarter to any man, but pursued all the advantages he ever got, with the utmost outrage and cruelty : that he had in one battle killed fifteen hundred of one family, of the Campbells, of the blood and name of Argyle, and that he had utterly rooted out several names and entire noble families.” The other told him, “ that it was the nature and condition of that war, that quarter was given on neither side ; that those prisoners which were taken by the Scots, as once they did take some persons of honour of his party, were afterwards in cold blood hanged reproachfully, which was much worse than if they had been killed in the field ;” and asked him, “ if Mountrose had ever caused any man to die in cold blood, or after the battle was ended ; since what was done in it *flagrante*, was more to be imputed to the fierceness
“ of

Earl of
Lauther-
dale’s dis-
course
against
Mountrose.

“ of his soldiers, than to his want of humanity.” The Earl confessed, “ that he did not know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in the field ;” but concluded with more passion, “ that his behaviour there was so savage, that Scotland would never forgive him.” And in other company, where the same subject was debated, he swore with great passion, “ that though he wished nothing more in this world than to see the King restored, he had much rather that he should never be restored, than that James Graham should be permitted to come into the Court :” of which declaration of his the King was informed by William Legg and Sir William Armorer, who were both present at the Hague, and in the company, when he said it.

There was at that time in the Hague the Lord Newburgh, who, after the murder of the late King, was compelled, together with his wife, the Lady Aubigny, to fly out of England, Cromwell every day making discoveries of correspondences which had been between the King and them. And thereupon they made an escape from thence, and came to the Hague. That lord having been too young to have had a part in the former war, had been then sent, by his Majesty’s direction, to be bred in France ; from whence he returned not till his Majesty was in the hands of the Scottish army ; and from that time he performed all the offices of fidelity and duty to the King, that a generous and worthy person could find any opportunity for : with which his Majesty was abundantly satisfied and pleased : and he now transported himself and his wife into Holland, that he might leave her there, and himself attend the King in any expedition.

This lady was a woman of a very great wit, and most

trusted and conversant in those intrigues, which at that time could be best managed and carried on by ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all companies : and so she had not been a stranger to the most secret transactions with the Scots, and had much conversation with the Lord Lanrick, during the time the King was at Hampton Court, and whilst he stayed afterwards in London, when the King was imprisoned in the Isle of Wight ; and being now both in the Hague, they had much conversation together. She had likewise had long acquaintance and friendship with one of the Council, who, she knew, had been as much trusted as any by the father, and was believed to have credit with the present King. She lamented those divisions amongst the Scots, which every body spoke of, and every body knew the disorder they produced in the King's councils ; and said, " she desired nothing more, than that there were " a good understanding between Duke Hamilton and " him ; which," she said, " she was sure would easily " be, if they two had but once a frank conference together." The other, who indeed had an esteem for the Duke, seemed very desirous of it : and she thereupon told him, that " the Duke had expressed to her, " that he would be willing to embrace the occasion : " and it was so concerted, that within a day or two they met as by chance at her lodgings. And she so dexterously introduced them to a civility towards each other, and to express their inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general conversation there, to which she left them, and went herself abroad, they parted with fair professions of future good will ; and the other promised to visit the Duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted ; and he was with him accordingly, and found him

them in his bed. They continued together near two
 hours, the Duke having commanded his servants to tell
 any who came to visit him, that he was asleep. The
 other spoke of "the proclamation, and the manner of
 "inviting the King into Scotland, and of the strange
 "spirits that possessed those who governed there, and
 "persuaded them to imagine it possible, that the King
 "could ever be prevailed with to take the Covenant, or
 "that it could be of advantage to him to do so; since
 "it could not but much alienate the affections of all
 "that party in England that had served his father,
 "upon whom he ought chiefly to depend for his re-
 "stitution to the government of that kingdom." Then
 he spoke of "the differences and jealousies which were
 "between those of that nation who had an equal desire
 "to serve the King, and seemed to be equally profe-
 "sured by the party that now prevailed, which had
 "excluded both;" and wished "that some expedient
 "might be found out to unite all those; and parti-
 "cularly that his Grace and the Marquis of Mount-
 "rose might be reconciled; towards which, he said, he
 "was sure that the Marquis had great inclination, and
 "had always esteemed him a man of honour; which
 "appeared by the book which was published, where he
 "was always worthily mentioned, though he had not
 "dealt so well with many others."

When the Duke had heard him with very civil at-
 tention, he told him as to the first part, "concerning
 "the proclamation, and the manner of inviting the
 "King to come to them, he was not to make any
 "other judgment by it, than only of the person of the
 "Marquis of Argyll; who, with the assistance of some
 "few ministers, and others his creatures, did at present
 "govern: that Argyll well knew there was an absolute
 "necessity,

Conference
 between
 Duke Hamilton
 and
 an English
 Party
 Counselor
 concerning
 the affairs
 of Scotland.

“ necessity, in respect of the whole people, to proclaim
“ the King after the murder of his father ; and there-
“ fore he could find no other way to keep him from
“ coming thither, but by clogging the proclamation
“ and message with those unworthy expressions, which
“ might deter him from putting himself into their
“ hands ; which Argyle did not wish he should do,
“ because in his absence he was sure he should govern
“ all, being well agreed with Cromwell how the go-
“ vernment should be carried ; and so the King might
“ be kept out, Cromwell would support him against all
“ other parties ; but that they both knew well enough,
“ that, if his Majesty were once there, the whole nation
“ would stick to him and obey him.” He confessed,
“ that there was generally so great a superstition for
“ the Covenant, that whosoever should speak against it
“ for the present, would lose all credit, though he did
“ acknowledge it had done much mischief, and would
“ do more whilst it should be insisted upon ; but,” he
“ said, “ that must be a work of time, and an effect of
“ the King’s government : which would find it ne-
“ cessary, in many other respects, to lessen the power
“ of the ministers ; which being lessened, the reverence
“ of the Covenant would quickly fall too ; and till then
“ he, and all men, must have patience. For the se-
“ cond,” he said, “ he wished heartily that there could
“ be a union of all parties which desired the King’s re-
“ storation, and that the animosity against the Marquis
“ of Mountrose might be extinguished. For his own
“ part, that he had only one quarrel against him, which
“ was that, by his unjust calumnies and prosecution, he
“ had driven him into rebellion ; which nothing else
“ could have done. And for that he always asked God
“ forgiveness from his heart, and desired nothing more
“ than

“ than to repair his fault by losing his life for the King;
“ and would, with all his heart, join to-morrow with
“ the Marquis of Mountrose, in carrying on the King’s
“ service, though he did believe, in that conjuncture,
“ the animosity against the Marquis was so great, that, if
“ he should declare such an inclination, all his own
“ friends would fall from him, and abhor him.” He
said, “ his own condition was very hard; for that having
“ been always bred up in the Church of England, for
“ which he had a great reverence, he was forced to com-
“ ply with the Covenant; which he perfectly detested,
“ and looked upon it as the ruin of his nation; and
“ would be as glad as any man of a good opportunity
“ to declare against it. But,” said he, “ I dare not say
“ this; and if I did, I should have no power or credit
“ to serve the King. There is,” said he, “ a very wor-
“ thy gentleman, who lodges in this house, the Earl of
“ Lautherdale, my friend and my kinsman; who, upon
“ my conscience, loves me heartily; and yet I dare say
“ nothing of this to him, either against the Covenant,
“ or for the Marquis of Mountrose: and, if I should,
“ I believe he would rather choose to kill me, than to
“ join with me: so much he is transported with preju-
“ dice in both these particulars, and so incapable to hear
“ reason upon either of those arguments, though, in all
“ other things, few men have a better understanding, or
“ can discourse more reasonably.”

Whilst they continued in all possible freedom in this conference, the Earl of Lautherdale, who it seems was informed of the other’s being there, came in his night-gown into the chamber, and so broke off the discourse. The other, after sitting some time in general conversation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the Duke and him. But as himself told
the

the Lady Aubigney, who shortly after died there, " he
" could not, without giving jealousy to his friend Lau-
" therdale, which he had no mind to do, spend so much
" time with the other in private as he could have been
" willing to have done:" and the death of that lady
lessened the opportunities.

In this unsteady and irresolute condition of the King's Council, it was very manifest, that, how long soever his Majesty should defer the resolution, to what place he would remove, he should not be able to stay long in the place where he was. The States, especially those of Holland, let fall somewhat every day in their councils and consultations, " that the King's residing in the Hague
" would be very inconvenient to them;" and it was the great interest of the Prince of Orange, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from sending a message directly to his Majesty, to desire him, " that he
" would depart from that country, as soon as he could." And there happened an accident at this time, which made the resolution necessary, and would inevitably have drawn on that message, which had yet been kept back.

It was touched before, that there was a purpose at London, to send over an envoy from thence into Holland, to prepare the way for a farther good intelligence and negotiation, which might end in a firm peace, and a reciprocal alliance between the two republics. To that purpose one Dorislaus, a Doctor in the Civil Law, was named; who, being born in Delph in Holland, had been bred at Leyden, and afterwards lived long in London, having been received into Gresham College as a Professor in one of those chairs which are endowed for public lectures in that society, and had been, from the beginning of the troubles, in the exercise of the Judge Advocate's

Advocate's office in the Earl of Essex's army. In this conjuncture this man arrived at the Hague, and took his lodging in a house where strangers used to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwise for their better accommodation. Whilst he was at supper, the same evening that he came to the town, in company of many others who used to eat there, half a dozen gentlemen entered the room with their swords drawn, and required those who were at the table "not to stir; for that there" Dorilaus, an agent of the Parliament, killed at the Hague by some Scottish men. "was no harm intended to any but the agent who came from the rebels in England, who had newly murdered their King." And one of them, who knew Dorilaus, pulled him from the table, and killed him at his feet: and thereupon they all put up their swords, and walked leisurely out of the house, leaving those who were in the room, in much amazement and consternation. Though all who were engaged in the enterprise went quietly away, and so out of the town, insomuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or called in question, yet they kept not their own counsel so well, (believing they had done a very heroic act), but that it was generally known they were all Scottish men, and most of them servants or dependants upon the Marquis of Mountrose.

The King was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this accident, which he could not foresee, and easily discerned that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly resent it, in many respects; that the man who was killed was in truth their own subject, and employed to them, as a public minister, by those with whom they had no mind to have any quarrel. Upon all which his Majesty concluded, that his presence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides, that there had been the same

same night some quarrels and fighting in the streets, between some servants of the King and some gentlemen of the town; in which a son of one of the States was dangerously hurt, though he recovered afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon these disorders, to which they had not been accustomed, with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the King. They were highly offended with what was past, and sensible what exhortations and clamour for justice they must expect, and sustain from England, and what reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those who had been guilty of such a crime, to escape the ministers of justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great scandal to their government: yet they proceeded very slowly in their inquiry, and with such formalities as were usual, (and which could bring no prejudice to the offenders; who were either gone out of their dominions, or concealed themselves in other towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discovered), and without so much reflection upon the King, as if they believed that the guilty persons had any relation to his service: yet they took notice of "the multitude of strangers which were in the town, and how impossible it would be for them to preserve the peace and good government thereof, if such resort were not restrained." They aggravated exceedingly "the indignity that had been offered to the State itself, in the attempt that had been made upon a person under their protection, and for whose safety the public faith was, upon the matter, engaged;" with insinuation enough, "that it would be fit for the King to remove from thence." Of all which his Majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than to expect

expect a plain injunction from them to do so. He found this the more necessary to be done, since from the time that the Scottish commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuse into the opinions of that people, "that they were sent from the kingdom of Scotland, that was entirely and unanimously at his Majesty's disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to take possession of his government there, where there was already an army preparing to assist him towards the recovery of his other dominions; but that there was a party of evil counsellors about his Majesty, who dissuaded him from accepting that their invitation, except they would be content to change the government of their Church, and to establish episcopacy there again." And by these insinuations they persuaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of Bishops, for whom they had no regard, was the sole difference between the King and them, which kept the King from going into Scotland: so that the King was not without some apprehension, that, by that mistake and false information, the States might give him advice to accept the Scots' invitation. And therefore he sent to the States of Holland, "that he had a desire to say somewhat to them, if they would assign him an audience the next day;" which they readily did.

The King was received in the same manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the room of council, after a short compliment, he delivered a paper to them, which he desired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon as soon as they pleased. The memorial contained, in the first place, his Majesty's acknowledgment of the civilities he had received there, and his desire "that by them the States General" (who were not at that time assembled) "might

The King gives a visit to the States of Holland, and delivers them a memorial.

“ might be informed of such his Majesty’s sense of their
“ kindness ; especially in the full and high detestation
“ they had expressed of the impious and unparalleled
“ murder of his royal father of blessed memory, their
“ fast and unshaken ally, by which the forms and rules
“ of all kind of government were no less violated and
“ dissolved, than that of monarchy : that he came to
“ inform them that he did intend, in a short time, so to
“ dispose of his person, as might with God’s blessing
“ most probably advance his affairs ; and that for the
“ better doing thereof, and that he might in so impor-
“ tant an affair receive their particular advice, he should
“ impart to them the true state and condition of his
“ several dominions. That he needed not inform them
“ of the deplorable condition of his kingdom of England,
“ where the hearts and affections of his loyal subjects
“ were so depressed and kept under by the power and
“ cruelty of those who had murdered their late Sovereign,
“ and who every day gave fresh and bloody instances of
“ their tyranny, to fright men from their allegiance,
“ that for the present no man could believe that miser-
“ able kingdom could be fit for his Majesty to trust his
“ person in : that in Scotland, it is very true, that his
“ Majesty is proclaimed King, but with such limita-
“ tions and restrictions against his exercise of his royal
“ power, that in truth they had only given him the
“ name, and denied him the authority : that above
“ five parts of six of the nobility and chief gentry of
“ that kingdom were likewise excluded from their just
“ right, and from any part in the administration of the
“ public affairs ; so that that kingdom seemed not suffi-
“ ciently prepared for his Majesty’s reception ; but that
“ he hoped, and doubted not, that there would be in a
“ short time a perfect union and right understanding
“ between

" between all his subjects of that his kingdom, and a
 " due submiffion and obedience from them all to his
 " Majesty, for that he was refolved (and had never had
 " the leaft purpofe to the contrary) to preferve and
 " maintain the government of Church and State in that
 " kingdom, as it is eftablifhed by the laws thereof, with-
 " out any violation or alteration on his part: fo that
 " there could be no difference between him and his sub-
 " jects of that kingdom, except they fhould endeavour,
 " and prefs his Majesty to alter the laws and government
 " of his other kingdoms; which as it would be very
 " unreafonable to defire, fo it is not in his power to do
 " if he fhould confent, and join with his subjects of
 " Scotland to that purpofe: which made him confident,
 " that, when they had thoroughly weighed and confider-
 " ed what was good for themfelves, as well as for him;
 " they would acquiefce with enjoying the laws and pri-
 " vileges of that kingdom, without defiring to infringe
 " or impofe upon thofe of their brethren and neigh-
 " bours." And his Majesty defired the States, " that if
 " any perfons had endeavoured to make any impreffions
 " upon them, that he hath or ever had other intentions
 " or defires, with reference to his subjects of Scotland;
 " than what himfelf now expreffed to them to have;
 " that they would give no credit to them: and affured
 " them, that they fhould always find him conftant to
 " thofe refolutions, and efpecially, that all ways and
 " means which might lead to the advancement and pro-
 " pagation of the Proteftant religion fhould be fo hear-
 " tily embraced by him, that the world fhould have
 " caufe to believe him to be worthy of his title of *De-*
 " *fender of the Faith*, which he valued as his greateft
 " attribute."

This being the true prefent condition of his two king-

doms of England and Scotland, and it being necessary for his Majesty, to give life to the afflicted state of his affairs by his own personal activity and vigour, he told them, "there remained only, that he should impart to
 "them the like state of his other kingdom of Ireland;
 "which had likewise sent to him, and desired him to repair thither with great importunity: that the Marquis
 "of Ormond, his lieutenant there, had concluded a peace
 "with the Roman Catholics; and that thereby his
 "Majesty was entirely possessed of three parts of four
 "of that his large and fruitful kingdom, and of the
 "command of good armies, and of many good ships to
 "be joined to his own fleet; and that he had reason to
 "hope and to believe that Dublin itself, and the few
 "other places, which had submitted to the rebellious
 "power in England, either already were, upon the knowledge of that odious parricide, returned to their allegiance, or would speedily be reduced; of which he expected every day to receive advertisement; which if
 "it should fall out, yet he foresaw many objections
 "might be made against his going thither, not only in
 "regard of the difficulty and danger of his passage,
 "but of the jealousies which would arise upon the large
 "concessions which were made unto the Roman Catholics of that kingdom; which could not be avoided."
 And having thus given them a clear information of the state of his three kingdoms, his Majesty concluded with his desire, "that the States would give him their advice
 "as freely, to which of them he should repair; and
 "that they would give him all necessary assistance that
 "he might prosecute their counsel."

Many men feared, that the King would have brought great prejudice to himself by this communication; and, upon the matter, obliged himself to follow their advice;
 which

which they apprehended would be contrary to his own judgment. For nothing was more commonly discoursed among the Dutch, and by many of the States themselves, than "that the King ought, without delay, to throw himself into the arms of Scotland, and to gratify them in all they desired: that Bishops were not worth the contending for; and that the supporting them had been the ruin of his father, and would be his, if he continued in the same obstinacy." But the King had reason to believe that they would not so much concern themselves in his broken affairs, as to give him advice what to do: and it was necessary for him to get a little more time, upon some occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a positive resolution which way to steer: for though, in his own opinion, Ireland was the place to which he was to repair, yet he knew that, notwithstanding the peace that was made, there were several parties still in arms there, besides those who adhered to the Parliament, who refused to submit to that peace. Though the general Council at Kilkenny (which had been always looked upon as the representative of the confederate Catholics of that kingdom, and to which they had always submitted) had fully consented to the treaty of peace with the Lord Lieutenant, yet Owen O'Neile, who had the command of all the Irish in Ulster, and who was looked upon as the best general they had, totally refused to submit to it, and positively protested against it, as not having provided for their interest; and that Council was not sorry for his separation, there being little less animosity between those of Ulster and the other Irish, than was between them both and the English: and they knew that O'Neile more insisted upon recompence in lands and preferments, than upon any provision that concerned religion itself. Then

the Scots in Ulster, who were very numerous, and under good discipline, and well provided with arms and ammunition, would not submit to the commands of the Lord Lieutenant; but were resolved to follow the example of their countrymen, and to see the King admitted and received, as well as proclaimed, before they would submit to his authority: which made the Marquis of Ormond the less troubled at the obstinacy of O'Neile, (though he had used all the means he had to draw him in), since he presumed the Scots and he would mortify each other, during the time that he should spend in making himself strong enough to suppress them both: for the Scots who would not join with the Marquis were very vigorous in prosecuting the war against O'Neile, and the Irish of Ulster. These divisions, factions, and confusions in Ireland, made the King the more solicitous that his Council should be unanimous for his going thither, at least that the Scots, how virulent soever against each other, should all concur in their advice, "that it was not yet seasonable for him to go for Scotland;" which made him labour so much to bring the Hamiltonians, and those who followed Mountrose, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it jointly to the King in council: but it is said before how impossible it was to obtain that conjunction.

When the King found that it was not possible to bring the lords of the Scottish nation together to confer upon the affairs of that kingdom, he thought to have drawn them severally, that is, those of the Engagement by themselves, and the Marquis of Mountrose with his friends by themselves, to have given him their advice in the presence of his Council, that so, upon debate thereof between them, his Majesty might the more maturely have determined

determined what he was to do. The Marquis of Mountrose expressed a great willingness to give his Majesty satisfaction this or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning things, or persons, before any body, and in any place. But the lords of the Engagement positively refused to deliver their opinion, but to the King himself, and not in the presence of his Council; which, they said, "would be to confess a kind of subordination of the kingdom of Scotland, which was independent on the Council of England;" and Duke Hamilton told the counsellor, with whom he had before so freely conversed, and who expostulated with him upon it, "that it was the only ground of the heavy judgment in Parliament against the Earl of Traquair, that, having been the King's commissioner in Scotland, he gave account to the King of transactions; and of the affairs of that kingdom, at the Council Table in England; whereof he was likewise a member; so jealous that kingdom was, and still is, of their native privileges;" and therefore desired, "that he might not be pressed to do what had been so penal to another in his own fight."

The King satisfied himself with having all their opinions delivered to himself, subscribed under all their hands, which every one consented to: though most of them would have been glad that the King would have gone into Scotland, upon what condescensions soever; because they all believed his presence would easily turn all, and that they should be quickly restored to their estates, which they cared most for; yet nobody presumed to give that advice, or seemed to think it reasonable. So that the King resumed the former debate of going directly for Ireland, and direction was given for providing ships, and all other things necessary for that

voyage. There remained only one doubt, whether his Majesty should take France in his way, that he might see his mother, who by letters and messages pressed him very earnestly so to do; or whether he should embark in Holland directly for Ireland; which would be less loss of time, and might be done early in the spring, before the Parliament's fleet should put out to sea.

They who did not wish that the Queen should exercise any power over the King, or have too much credit with him, were against his going into France, as "an occasion of spending more time than his affairs would permit, and an obligation to make a greater expence than he had, or knew where to have, means to defray:" and they thought it an argument of moment, "that, from the time of the murder of his father, the King had never received letter of condolment from France, nor the least invitation to go thither." On the other side, they who wished and hoped that the Queen would have such an influence upon the King that his Council should have less credit with him, desired very much that his Majesty would make France his way. The Scots desired it very much, believing they should find her Majesty very propitious to their counsels, and inclined to trust their undertakings; and they were very sure that Mountrose would never go to Paris, or have credit with the Queen.

The Prince of Orange, and the Princess Royal his wife, had a great desire to gratify the Queen, and that the King should see her in the way; and proposed, "that his Majesty might appoint a place, where the Queen and he might meet, without going to Paris; and, after three or four days stay together, his Majesty might hasten his journey to some convenient port, from whence he might embark for Ireland by a shorter
"passage

“ passage than from Holland ; and the Prince of Orange
“ would appoint two ships of war, to attend his Majesty
“ in that French port, before he should get thither.”
His Majesty inclined this way, without positively resolving upon it ; yet directed “ that his own goods of bulk,
“ and his inferior servants, should be presently embark-
“ ed to take the directest passage to Ireland ;” and ordered “ that the rest, who were to wait upon his person,
“ should likewise send their goods and baggage, and
“ such servants who were not absolutely necessary for
“ their present service, upon the same ships for Ireland ;” declaring, “ that, if he made France his way, he would
“ make all possible haste, and go with as light a train as
“ he could.” Hereupon two ships were shortly after provided, and many persons (and great store of baggage) embarked for Ireland, and arrived there in safety ; but most of the persons, and all the goods, miscarried in their return, when they knew that the King was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

This resolution being taken, the Lord Cottington, who had a just excuse from his age, being then seventy-five years old, to wish to be in some repose, considered with himself how to become disentangled from the fatigue of those voyages and journeys, which he saw the King would be obliged to make. In Holland he had no mind to stay, having never loved that people, nor been loved by them ; and he thought the climate itself was very pernicious to his health, by reason of the gout, which frequently visited him. France was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was looked upon as one who had been always addicted to Spain, and no friend to the Crown of France ; so that he was willing to find a good occasion to spend the re-

mainder of his age where he had spent so much of his youth, in Spain, and where he believed that he might be able to do the King more service than any other way. And there was newly come to the Hague an English gentleman, who had been an officer in the King's army, and was in Madrid when the news came thither of the murder of the King: and he related many particulars of the passion and indignation of that Court, upon that occasion, against the rebels; that "the King, and all the Court, put themselves into solemn mourning;" (and he repeated some expressions which the King and Don Lewis de Haro had made of tenderness and compassion for our King); and that "the King of Spain spoke of sending an ambassador to his Majesty."

These relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly soever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the Lord Cottington took occasion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer (with whom he held a strict friendship, they living and keeping house together) of "the ill condition the King was in, and that he ought to think, what Prince's kindness was like to be of most use and benefit to his Majesty, and from whom he might hope to receive a sum of money; if not as much as might serve for a martial expedition; yet such an annual exhibition as might serve for his support: that he had already experience of France, and knew well the intelligence that the Cardinal had at that very time with Cromwell: but he did verily believe, that if the King of Spain were dexterously treated with, and not more asked of him than could consist with his affairs to spare, a good yearly support might be procured there, and the expectation of it might be worth the King's sending an ambassador thither." He said, "he was more of that opinion since

Conference
between
the Lord
Cottington
and the
Chancellor
of the Ex-
chequer
concerning
the King's
sending an
embassy
into Spain.

“ since the King had taken the resolution of going for
“ Ireland ; where the King of Spain’s credit might be
“ of great benefit to him : that Owen O’Neile, and the
“ old Irish of Ulster, were still in arms against the
“ King ; and would not submit to the conditions which
“ the general Council of the confederate Catholics had
“ consented to with the Marquis of Ormond : that
“ O’Neile had been bred in Spain, and had a regiment
“ in Flanders, and so must have an absolute dependence
“ upon his Catholic Majesty, for whom all the old Irish
“ had ever had a particular devotion, and if it were only
“ to dispose him and that people to the King’s obedience,
“ and to accept those conditions which might conveni-
“ ently be given to them, it were well worth such a jour-
“ ney ; and the King of Spain would never refuse to
“ gratify the King to the utmost that could be desired
“ in that particular.” The Chancellor thought this dis-
course not unreasonable, and asked him, “ who would be
“ fit to be sent thither ?” not imagining that he had any
thought of going thither himself. He answered, “ that,
“ if the King would be advised by him, he should send
“ them two thither, and he did believe they should do
“ him very good service.”

The Chancellor was weary of the company he was in,
and the business, which, having no prospect but towards
despair, was yet rendered more grievous by the continual
contentions and animosities between persons. He knew
he was not in the Queen’s favour at all, and should find
no respect in that Court. However, he was very scrupulous,
that the King might not suspect that he was
weary of his attendance, or that any body else might
believe that he withdrew himself from waiting longer
upon so desperate a fortune. In the end, he told the
Lord Cottington, “ that he would only be passive in the
“ point,

“ point, and refer it entirely to him, if he thought fit to
 “ dispose the King to like it; and if the King approved
 “ it so much as to take notice of it to the Chancellor,
 “ and commend it as a thing he thought for his service,
 “ he would submit to his command.”

The King
 declares
 those two
 to be his
 ambassa-
 dors.

The Lord Cottington's heart was much set upon this employment, and he managed so warily with the King, and presented the whole scheme to him so dexterously, that his Majesty was much pleased with it; and shortly after declared his resolution publicly, “ to send the Lord “ Cottington, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his “ ambassadors extraordinary into Spain;” and commanded them “ to prepare their own commission and “ instructions; and to begin their journey as soon as “ was possible.”

Before the King could begin his own journey for France, and so to Ireland, his Majesty thought it necessary, upon the whole prospect of his affairs with reference to all places, to put his business into as good a method as he could, and to dispose of that number of officers, and soldiers, and other persons, who had presented themselves to be applied to his service, or to leave them to take the best course they could for their own subsistence. Of these, many were sent into Ireland with the ships which carried the King's goods, with recommendation to the Marquis of Ormond, “ to put “ them into his army till the King came thither.” Since the Scots were no better disposed to serve, or receive the King for the present, his Majesty was resolved to give the Marquis of Mountrose all the encouragement he desired to visit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

There was then at the Hague Cornificius Wolfelte, ambassador extraordinary from the King of Denmark to the

the States General; who came with a great train and great state, and was himself a man of vanity and ostentation, and took pains to be thought so great a man by his own interest, that he did not enough extol the power of his master; which proved his ruin after his return. He had left Denmark before the news came thither of the murder of the King, and so he had no credentials for his Majesty, by reason whereof he could not receive any public formal audience; but desired "the King's leave" that he might, as by accident, be admitted to speak "to him at the Queen of Bohemia's Court;" where his Majesty used to be every day; and there the ambassador often spoke to him. The Marquis of Mountrose had found means to endear himself much to this ambassador, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in Denmark, if the King would send him thither, and that he might obtain arms and ammunition there for Scotland. The ambassador told him, "that, if the King would write a letter to him" "to that purpose, he would presently supply him" "with some money and arms, in assurance that his master would very well approve of what he should do." The Marquis of Mountrose well knew that the King was not able to supply him with the least proportion of money to begin his journey; and therefore he had only proposed, "that the King would give him letters, in the" "form he prescribed, to several Princes in Germany," "whose affections he pretended to know;" which letters he sent by several officers, who were to bring the soldiers or arms they should obtain, to a rendezvous he appointed near Hamburg; and resolved himself to go into Sweden and Denmark, in hope to get supplies in both those places, both from the Crowns, and by the contribution

contribution of many Scottish officers, who had command and estates in those countries; and to have credentials, by virtue of which he might appear ambassador extraordinary from the King, if he should find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negotiate his business in private, and without any public character. All this was resolved before his confidence, at least his familiarity, with the ambassador was grown less. But, upon the encouragement he had from him, he moved the King "for his letter to the ambassador, to assist the "Marquis of Mountrose with his advice, and with his "interest in Denmark, and in any other Court, to the "end that he might obtain the loan of monies, arms, "and ammunition, and whatever else was necessary to "enable the Marquis to prosecute his intended descent "into Scotland." The King, glad that he did not press for ready money, which he was not able to supply him with, gave him such letters as he desired to all persons, and particularly to the ambassador himself, who, having order from his master to present the King with a sum of money for his present occasions, never informed the King thereof, but advised Mountrose to procure such a letter from his Majesty to him; which being done, the Marquis received that money from him, and likewise some arms; with which he begun his unfortunate enterprise; and prosecuted his journey to Hamburg; where he expected to meet his German troops, which he believed the officers he had sent thither with the King's letters would be well able to raise, with the assistance of those Princes to whom they had been sent. But he was carried on by a stronger assurance he had received from some prophecies, and predictions, to which he was naturally given, "that he should by his valour recover "Scotland

The Mar-
quis of
Mountrose
goes to
Hamburg.

“Scotland for the King, and from thence conduct an
“army that should settle his Majesty in all his other do-
“minions.”

There had been yet nothing done by the King with reference to England since the murder of his father; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was so terrible a consternation, that still possessed the spirits of that people, that though men's affections were greater, and more general for the King, out of the horror and detestation they had of the late parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken courage; nor was it believed possible for any man to contribute any thing, at present, for their deliverance. However, most men were of opinion, “that
“it was necessary for the King to publish some declara-
“tion, that he might not seem utterly to give over his
“claim there; and to keep up the spirits of his friends.” And many from England, who in the midst of their despair would give some counsel, advised, “that there
“might be somewhat published by the King that
“might give some check to the general submitting to
“the Engagement, which was so universally pressed
“there.” The King being every day advertised, how much this was desired and expected, and the Scottish lords being of the same opinion, hoping that somewhat might be inserted in it that might favour the Presbyterians, his Majesty proposed at the Council, “that there
“might be some draught prepared of a proclamation,
“or declaration, only with reference to the kingdom of
“England;” and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, The Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer
appointed
to make a
declaration
relating to
England. who had been most conversant in instruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, “that he did not know what such a declara-
“tion could contain, and therefore that he thought it
“not

“not seasonable to publish any.” The Prince of Orange was present at that Council, and, whether from his own opinion, or from the suggestion of the Scottish lords, who were much favoured by him, he wished, “that, in regard of the great differences which were in England about matters of religion, the King would offer, in this declaration, to refer all matters in controversy concerning religion to a national synod; in which there should be admitted some foreign divines from the Protestant churches;” which, he thought, would be a popular clause, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the King believed no objection could be made against it; and so thought fit such a clause should be inserted.

Within a short time after the Council was parted, the Prince of Orange sent for the Lord Cottington, and told him, “he was not enough acquainted with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but desired him to entreat him not to be too sharp in this declaration, the end whereof was to unite and reconcile different humours; and that he found many had a great apprehension, that the sharpness of his style would irritate them much more.” The Chancellor knew well enough that this came from the Lord Lautherdale, and he wished heartily that the charge might be committed to any body else, protesting, “that he was never less disposed in his own conceptions and reflections to undertake any such task in his life; and that he could not imagine how it was possible for the King to publish a declaration at that time, (his first declaration,) without much sharpness against the murderers of his father;” which nobody could speak against; nor could he be excused from the work imposed upon him: and the Prince of Orange assured him, “it was not that kind of sharpness
“which

“ which he wished should be declined :” and though he seemed not willing farther to explain himself, it was evident that he wished that there might not be any sharpness against the Presbyterians, for which there was at that time no occasion.

There was one particular, which, without a full and distinct instruction, the Chancellor could not presume to express. The great end of this declaration was to confirm the affection of as many as was possible for the King, and, consequently, as few were to be made desperate as might consist with the King's honour, and necessary justice ; so that how far that clause, which was essential to a declaration upon this subject, concerning the indemnity of persons, should extend, was the question. And in this there was difference of opinions ; the most prevalent was, “ that no persons should be excepted from pardon, but only such who had an immediate hand in the execrable murder of the King, by being his judges, and pronouncing that sentence, and they who performed the execution.” Others said, they knew that some were in the list of the judges, and named by the Parliament, who found excuses to be absent ;” and others, that “ some who were not named, more contrived and contributed to that odious proceeding, than many of the actors in it.” But the resolution was, that the former should be only comprehended.

When the declaration was prepared, and read at the Board, there was a deep silence, no man speaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for a second reading it, against which time every man might be better prepared to speak to it : and in the mean time the Prince of Orange, in regard he was not a perfect master of the English tongue, desired he might have a
copy

copy of it, that he might the better understand it. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer desired, "that not only the Prince of Orange might have a copy, but that his Majesty would likewise have one, and, after he should have perused it himself, he would shew it to any other, who he thought was fit to advise with;" there being many lords and other persons of quality about him, who were not of the Council: and he moved, "that he might have liberty himself to communicate it to some who were like to make a judgment, how far any thing of that nature was like to be acceptable, and agreeable to the minds of the people;" and named Herbert the Attorney General, and Dr. Steward, who was Dean of the chapel; and his opinion, in all things relating to the Church, the King had been advised by his father to submit to. All which was approved by the King; and, for that reason, a farther day was appointed for the second reading. The issue was, that, except two or three of the Council, who were of one and the same opinion of the whole, there were not two persons who were admitted to the perusal of it, who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception.

Different
opinions in
the King's
Council
about it
when it was
read.

Doctor Steward, though a man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly grieved at the clause of admitting foreign divines into a synod that was to consult upon the Church of England, that he could not be satisfied by any arguments that could be given of "the impossibility of any effect, or that the Parliament would accept the overture; and that there could be no danger if it did, because the number of those foreign divines must be still limited by the King;" but came one morning to the Chancellor, with whom he had a friendship, and protested "he had not slept that
"night

“night, out of the agony and trouble, that he, who he
 “knew loved the Church so well, should consent to a
 “clause so much against the honour of it;” and went
 from him to the King, to beseech him never to approve it.
 Some were of opinion, “that there were too few excepted
 “from pardon; by which the King would not have con-
 “fiscations enough to satisfy and reward his party:” and
 others thought, “that there were too many excepted;
 “and that it was not prudent to make so many men
 “desperate; but that it would be sufficient to except
 “Cromwell, and Bradshaw, and three or four more of
 “those whose malice was most notorious; the whole
 “number not to exceed six.”

The Scots did not value the clause for foreign di-
 vines, who, they knew, could persuade little in an Eng-
 lish synod; but they were implacably offended, that
 the King mentioned the government of the Church
 of England, and the Book of Common-Prayer, with so
 much reverence and devotion; which was the sharpness
 they most feared of the Chancellor's style, when they
 thought now the Covenant to be necessary to be insisted
 upon more than ever. So that, when the declaration
 was read at the Board the second time, most men being
 moved with the discourses, and fears which were ex-
 pressed abroad of some ill effects it might produce, it
 was more faintly debated, and men seemed not to think
 that the publishing any, at this time, was of so much
 importance, as they formerly had conceived it to be.
 By all which men may judge, how hard a thing it was
 for the King to resolve, and act with that steadiness and
 resolution, which the most unprosperous condition doth
 more require than the state that is less perplexed and en-
 tangled. Thus the declaration slept without farther pro-
 position to publish any.

Upon
 which it
 was laid
 aside.

All things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two ambassadors for Spain were very solicitous to begin their journey, the King being at last resolved not to give his mother the trouble of making a journey to meet him, but to go himself directly to St. Germain's, where her Majesty was. The Prince of Orange, to advance that resolution, had promised to supply the King with twenty thousand pounds; which was too great a loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the King to discharge the debts he and his family had contracted at the Hague, and to make his journey. Out of this sum the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor were to receive so much as was designed to defray their journey to Paris: what was necessary for the discharge of their embassy, or for making their journey from Paris, was not yet provided. The King had some hope, that the Duke of Lorrain would lend him some money; which he designed for this service; which made it necessary that they should immediately resort to Brussels, to finish that negotiation, and from thence to prosecute their journey.

In the soliciting their first dispatch at the Hague, they made a discovery that seemed very strange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their journey having been put off some days, only for the receipt of that small sum, which was to be paid them out of the money to be lent by the Prince of Orange, and Hemstet, the Prince's chief officer in such affairs of money, having been some days at Amsterdam to negotiate that loan, and no money being returned, they believed that there was some affected delay; and so went to the Prince of Orange, who had advised, and was well pleased with that embassy, to know when

when that money would be ready for the King, that he might likewise resolve upon the time for his own journey. The Prince told them, he believed, "that they, who knew London so well, and had heard so much discourse of the wealth of Holland, would wonder very much that he should have been endeavouring above ten days to borrow twenty thousand pounds; and that the richest men in Amsterdam had promised him to supply him with it, and that one half of it was not yet provided." He said, "it was not that there was any question of his credit, which was very good; and that the security he gave was as good as any body desired, and upon which he could have double the sum in less time, if he would receive it in paper, which was the course of that country; where bargains being made for one hundred thousand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was never known that twenty thousand pounds was paid together in one town; but by bills upon Rotterdam, Harlem, the Hague, and Antwerp, and other places, which was as convenient, or more, to all parties; and he did verily believe, that though Amsterdam could pay a million within a month, upon any good occasion, yet they would be troubled to bring twenty thousand pounds together into any one room; and that was the true reason, that the money was not yet brought to the Hague; which it should be within few days;" as it was accordingly.

The ambassadors took their leave of the King at the Hague before the middle of May, and had a yacht from the Prince of Orange, that attended them at Rotterdam, and transported them with great convenience to Antwerp, where the Chancellor's wife and his family were arrived ten days before, and were settled in a good and convenient house; where the Lord Cottington and he both

The ambassadors for Spain begin their journey.

lodged whilst they stayed in that city. There they met the Lord Jermyn in his way towards the King, to hasten the King's journey into France, upon the Queen's great importunity. He was very glad they were both come away from the King, and believed he should more easily prevail with his Majesty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days stay at Antwerp, they went to Brussels to deliver their credentials both to the Archduke and the Duke of Lorrain, and to visit the Spanish ministers, and, upon their landing at Brussels, they took it for a good omen, that they were assured, "that Le Brune, who had been one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Munster, on the behalf of the King of Spain, was then in that town with credentials to visit the King, and to condole with him." They had an audience, the next day, of the Archduke: they performed the compliments to him from the King, and informed him of their embassy into Spain, and desired his recommendation, and good offices in that Court; which he, according to his slow and formal way of speaking, consented to: and they had no more to do with him, but received the visits from the officers, in his name, according to the style of that Court. Their main business was with the Duke of Lorrain, to procure money for their journey into Spain.

They visit
the Duke of
Lorrain at
Brussels.

The Duke was a prince that lived in a different manner from all other sovereign princes in the world: from the time, that he had been driven out of his country by France, he had retired to Brussels with his army, which he kept up very strong, and served the King of Spain with it against the French, upon such terms and conditions as were made, and renewed every year between them; by which he received great sums of money yearly from the Spaniard, and was sure very rich in money.

money. He always commanded apart in the field, his officers received no orders but from himself: he always agreed at the council of war what he should do, and his army was in truth the best part of the Spanish forces. In the town of Brussels he lived without any order, method, or state of a Prince, except towards the Spaniards in his treaties, and being present in their councils, where he always kept his full dignity: otherwise, he lived in a jolly familiarity with the bourgeois and their wives, and feasted with them, but scarce kept a court, or any number of servants, or retinue. The house wherein he lived was a very ordinary one, and not furnished; nor was he often there, or easy to be found; so that the ambassadors could not easily send to him for an audience. He received them in a lower room with great courtesy and familiarity; and visited them at their own lodging. He was a man of great wit, and presence of mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no man knew better how to act the prince. He loved his money very much; yet the Lord Cottington's dexterity and address prevailed with him to lend the King two thousand pistoles; which was all that was in their view for defraying their embassy. But they hoped they should procure some supply in Spain, out of which their own necessary expences must be provided for.

There were two Spaniards, by whom all the councils there were governed and conducted, and which the Archduke himself could not control; the Conde of Pignoranda (who was newly come from Munster, being the other plenipotentiary there; and stayed only at Brussels, in expectation of renewing the treaty again with France; but, whilst he stayed there, was in the highest trust of all the affairs) and the Conde of Fuensaldagna, who was the governor of the arms, and commanded

the army next under the Archduke ; which was a subordination very little inferior to the being General. They were both very able and expert men in business, and if they were not very wise men, that nation had none. The former was a man of the robe, of a great wit, and much experience, proud, and, if he had not been a little too pedantic, might very well be looked upon as a very extraordinary man, and was much improved by the excellent temper of Le Brune, (the other plenipotentiary,) who was indeed a wise man, and by seeming to defer in all things to Pignoranda, governed him. The Conde of Fuenfaldagna was of a much better temper, more industry, and more insinuation than Spaniards use to have : his greatest talent lay to civil business ; yet he was the best general of that time to all other offices and purposes, than what were necessary in the hour of battle, when he was not so present and composed as at all other seasons.

Both these received the ambassadors with the usual civilities, and returned their visits to their own lodging, but seemed not pleased with their journey to Madrid, and spoke much of the necessities that Crown was in, and its disability to assist the King ; which the ambassadors imputed to the influence Don Alonzo de Cardenas had upon them both ; who remained still under the same character in England he had done for many years before. The same civilities were performed between Le Brune and them ; who treated them with much more freedom, and encouraged them to hope well from their negotiation in Spain ; acquainted them with his own instructions, “ to give the King all assurance of the affection of his Catholic Majesty, and of his readiness “ to do any thing for him that was in his power.” He said, “ he only deferred his journey, because he heard
“ that

“ that the King intended to spend some time at Breda ;
“ and he had rather attend him there, than at the
“ Hague.”

When the ambassadors had dispatched all their business at Brussels, and received the money from the Duke of Lorraine, they returned to Antwerp ; where they were to negotiate for the return of their monies to Madrid ; which required very much wariness, the bills from thence finding now more difficulties at Madrid, than they had done in former times.

By the letters my Lord Jermyn brought, and the opportunity he used, the King resolved to begin his journey sooner than he thought to have done, that is, sooner than he thought he should have been able, all provisions being to begin to be made both for his journey into France, and from thence into Ireland, after the money was received that should pay for them. But the Queen's impatience was so great to see his Majesty, that the Prince of Orange, and the Princess Royal his wife, were as impatient to give her that satisfaction. Though her Majesty could not justly dislike any resolution the King had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into Ireland, she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution at all had been taken before she was consulted. She was angry that the counsellors were chosen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in the affairs ; all which she imputed principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer : nevertheless she was not pleased with the design of the negotiation in Spain. For though she had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her commands, yet she had all confidence in his duty and integrity to the King, and therefore wished he should be

still about his person, and trusted in his business; which she thought him much fitter for than such a negotiation, which she believed, out of her natural prejudice to Spain, would produce no advantage to the King.

The King
removes to
Breda.

That the Queen might receive some content, in knowing that the King had begun his journey, the Prince of Orange desired him, "whilst his servants prepared what was necessary at the Hague, that himself, and that part of his train that was ready, would go to Breda, and stay there till the rest were ready to come up to him;" that being his best way to Flanders, through which he must pass into France. Breda was a town of the Prince's own, where he had a handsome palace and castle, and a place where the King might have many diversions. Hither the Spanish ambassador, Le Brune, came to attend his Majesty, and delivered his master's compliments to his Majesty, and offered his own services to him, whilst he should remain in those provinces; he being at that time designed to remain ambassador to the United Provinces; as he did; and died shortly after at the Hague, with a general regret. He was born a subject to the King of Spain, in that part of Burgundy that was under his dominion; and having been from his youth always bred in business, and being a man of great parts and temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the best statesmen in Christendom, and who best understood the true interest of all the Princes of Europe.

As soon as the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor heard of the King's being at Breda, and that he intended to hasten his journey for France, they resolved, having in truth not yet negotiated all things necessary for their journey, to stay till the King passed by, and not to go to St. Germain's till the first interview, and explanations

cisements were passed between the King and Queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what weather was like to be.

The King was received at Antwerp with great magnificence: he entered in a very rich coach with six horses, which the Archduke sent a present to him when he came into the Spanish dominions: he was treated there, at the charge of the city, very splendidly for two days: and went then to Brussels, where he was lodged in the palace, and royally entertained. But the French army, under the command of the Conte de Harcourt, was two days before set down before Cambray; with the news whereof the Spanish Council was surpris'd, and in so much disorder, that the Archduke was gone to the army to Mons, and Valenciennes, whilst the King was in Antwerp; so that the King was received only by his officers; who performed their parts very well.

Here the Conde of Pignoranda waited upon the King in the quality of an ambassador, and covered. And his Majesty stay'd here three or four days, not being able suddenly to resolve which way he should pass into France. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the French thought to have surpris'd that town, and to have cast up their line of circumvallation before any supplies could be put in; but the Conde Fuenfaldagna found a way to put seven or eight hundred foot into the town; upon which the French rais'd the siege; and so the King made his journey by the usual way; and, near Valenciennes, had an interview with the Archduke; and, after some short ceremonies, continued on his journey, and lodged at Cambray; where he was likewise treated by the Conde de Garcies, who was governor there, and a very civil gentleman.

Thence to
Antwerp.

Thence to
Brussels.

The King
had an in-
terview
with the
Archduke
near Valen-
ciennes.

About

About a week after the King left Bruffels, the two ambassadors prosecuted their journey for Paris; where they stayed only one day, and then went to St. Germain's; where the King and the Queen his mother, with both their families, and the Duke of York's, then were; by whom they were received graciously. They had no reason to repent their caution in staying so long behind the King, for they found the Court so full of jealousy and disorder, that every body was glad that they were come. After the first two or three days that the King and Queen had been together, which were spent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happened since their last parting, the Queen began to confer with the King of his business, and what course he meant to take; in which she found him so reserved, as if he had no mind she should be conversant in it. He made no apologies to her; which she expected; nor any professions of resigning himself up to her advice. On the contrary, upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly, "that he would always perform his duty towards her with great affection and exactness, but that in his business he would obey his own reason and judgment;" and did as good as desire her not to trouble herself in his affairs: and finding her passions strong, he frequently retired from her with some abruptness, and seemed not to desire to be so much in her company as she expected; and prescribed some new rules to be observed in his own retirement, which he had not been accustomed to.

This kind of unexpected behaviour gave the Queen much trouble. She began to think, that this distance, which the King seemed to affect, was more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer could wish; and that there was somebody else, who did her more disservice:
info-

inſomuch as to the ladies who were about her, whereof ſome were very much his friends, ſhe ſeemed to wiſh, that the Chancellor were come. There was a gentleman, who was newly come from England, and who came to the Hague after the Chancellor had taken his leave of the King, and had been ever ſince very cloſe about him, being one of the Grooms of his Bedchamber, one Mr. Thomas Elliot, a perſon ſpoken of before ; Mr. Elliot comes to the King : his influence upon his Majeſty. whom the King's father had formerly ſent into France, at the ſame time that he reſolved the Prince ſhould go for the Weſt ; and for no other reaſon, but that he ſhould not attend upon his ſon. And he had given order, “ that if he ſhould return out of France, and come “ into the Weſt, the Council ſhould not ſuffer him to “ be about the Prince ;” with whom he thought he had too much credit, and would uſe it ill ; and he had never ſeen the Prince from the time he left Oxford till now. He was a bold man, and ſpoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late King which he ought to have had ; and leſs for the Queen ; though he had great obligations to both ; yet being not ſo great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as none at all. This gentleman came to the King juſt as he left the Hague, and both as he was a new comer, and as one for whom his Majeſty had formerly much kindneſs, was very well received ; and being one who would receive no injury from his modeſty, made the favour the King ſhewed him as bright, and to ſhine as much in the eyes of all men, as was poſſible. He was never from the perſon of the King, and always whiſpering in his ear, taking upon him to underſtand the ſenſe and opinion of all the loyal party in England : and when he had a mind that the King ſhould think well, or ill, of any man, he told him, “ that he was much be-
“ loved

“loved by, or very odious to, all his party there.” By these infusions, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the Earl of Bristol, who came from Caen (where he had hitherto resided) to kiss his hands, than his own good nature would have inclined him to ; and more to discountenance the Lord Digby, and to tell him plainly, “that he should not serve him in the “place of Secretary of State ;” in which he had served his father, and from which men have seldom been removed upon the descent of the Crown ; and not to admit either father or son to be of his Council ; which was more extraordinary. He told the King, “it would “be the most unpopular thing he could do, and which “would lose him more hearts in England than any “other thing, if he were thought to be governed by his “mother.” And in a month’s time that he had been about the King, he begun already to be looked upon as very like to become the favourite. He had used the Queen with wonderful neglect when she spoke to him, and had got so much interest with the King, that he had procured a promise from his Majesty to make Colonel Windham, whose daughter Mr. Elliot had married, Secretary of State ; an honest gentleman, but extreme unequal to that province ; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his wife had been nurse to the Prince, who was now King.

In these kind of humours and indispositions the ambassadors found the Court, when they came to St. Germain’s. They had, during their stay at Paris, in their way to Court, conferred with the Earl of Bristol, and his son the Lord Digby ; who breathed out their griefs to them ; and the Lord Digby was the more troubled to find that Mr. Elliot, who was a known and declared enemy of his, had gotten so much credit with the King,

as

as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him, by the countenance of his Majesty; in whom, he knew, the King his father desired, that he should of all men have the least interest. After they had been a day or two there, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinking it his duty to say somewhat to the Queen in particular, and knowing that she expected he should do so, and the King having told him at large all that had passed with his mother, and the ill humour she was in, (all which his Majesty related in a more exalted dialect than he had been accustomed to), and his Majesty being very willing to understand what the Queen thought upon the whole, the Chancellor asked a private audience; which her Majesty readily granted. And after she had gently ex-
A private audience of the Chancellor with the Queen,
 postulated upon the old passages at Jersey, she concluded with the mention of the great confidence the King her husband had always reposed in him, and thereupon renewed her own gracious professions of good will towards him. Then she complained, not without tears, of the King's unkindness towards her, and of his way of living with her, of some expressions he had used in discourse in her own presence, and of what he had said in other places, and of the great credit Mr. Elliot had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her Majesty, and lastly of the incredible design of making Windham Secretary; "who, besides his other unfitness," she said, "would be sure to join with the other to lessen the King's kindness to her all they could." The Chancellor, after he had made all the professions of duty to her Majesty which became him, and said what he really believed of the King's kindness and respect for her, asked her, "whether she would give him leave to take notice of any thing she had said to him, or, in general, that he found her Ma-
 "jefty

“jeſty unsatisfied with the King’s unkindneſs?” The Queen replied, “that ſhe was well contented he ſhould “take notice of every thing ſhe had ſaid; and, above “all, of his purpoſe to make Windham Secretary:” of which the King had not made the leaſt mention, though he had taken notice to him of moſt other things the Queen had ſaid to him.

The Chancellor, ſhortly after, found an opportunity to inform the King of all that had paſſed from the Queen, in ſuch a method as might give him occaſion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The King heard him very greedily, and proteſted, “that he deſired “nothing more than to live very well with the Queen; “towards whom he would never fail in his duty, as far “as was conſiſtent with his honour, and the good of his “affairs; which, at preſent, it may be, required more “reſervation towards the Queen, and to have it believed “that he communicated leſs with her than he did, or “than he intended to do: that, if he did not ſeem to “be deſirous of her company, it was only when ſhe “grieved him by ſome importunities, in which he “could not ſatisfy her; and that her exception againſt “Elliot was very unjuſt; and that he knew well the “man to be very honeſt, and that he loved him well; “and that the prejudice the King’s father had againſt “him was only by the malice of the Lord Digby, who “hated him without a cauſe, and had likewiſe informed “the Queen of ſome falſhoods, which had incenſed her “Majeſty againſt him;” and ſeemed throughout much concerned to juſtify Elliot, againſt whom the Chancellor himſelf had no exceptions, but received more reſpects from him than he paid to moſt other men.

When the Chancellor ſpoke of making Windham Secretary, the King did not own the having promiſed to
do

do it, but "that he intended to do it." The Chancellor said, "he was glad he had not promised it; and that he hoped, he would never do it: that he was an honest gentleman, but in no degree qualified for that office." He put him in mind of Secretary Nicholas, who was then there to present his duty to him; "that he was a person of such known affection and honesty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than to pass him by." The King said, "he thought Secretary Nicholas to be a very honest man; but he had no title to that office more than another man: that Mr. Windham had not any experience in that employment, but that it depended so much upon forms, that he would quickly be instructed in it: that he was a very honest man, for whom he had never done any thing, and had now nothing else to give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in a short time, he would make himself very fit." All that the Chancellor could prevail with his Majesty was, to suspend the doing it for some time, and that he would hear him again upon the subject, before he took a final resolution. For the rest, he promised "to speak upon some particulars with the Queen, and to live with her with all kindness and freedom, that she might be in good humour." But he heard her, and all others, very unwillingly, who spoke against Mr. Windham's parts for being Secretary of State.

One day the Lord Cottington, when the Chancellor and some others were present, told the King very gravely, (according to his custom, who never smiled when he made others merry,) "that he had an humble suit to him, on the behalf of an old servant of his father's, and whom, he assured him upon his knowledge, his father loved as well as he did any man of that condi-
tion

tion in England; and that he had been for many years one of his falconers; and he did really believe him to be one of the best falconers in England;" and thereupon enlarged himself (as he could do very well in all the terms of that science) to shew how very skilful he was in that art. The King asked him, "what he would have him do for him?" Cottington told him, "it was very true that his Majesty kept no falconers, and the poor man was grown old, and could not ride as he had used to do; but that he was a very honest man, and could read very well, and had as audible a voice as any man need to have;" and therefore besought his Majesty, "that he would make him his Chaplain;" which speaking with so composed a countenance, and somewhat of earnestness, the King looked upon him with a smile to know what he meant; when he, with the same gravity, assured him, "the falconer was in all respects as fit to be his Chaplain, as Colonel Windham was to be Secretary of State;" which so surpris'd the King, who had never spoken to him of the matter, all that were present being not able to abstain from laughing, that his Majesty was somewhat out of countenance: and this being merrily told by some of the standers by, it grew to be a story in all companies, and did really divert the King from the purpose, and made the other so much ashamed of pretending to it, that there was no more discourse of it.

Whilst all endeavours were used to compose all ill humours here, that the King might prosecute his intended voyage for Ireland, there came very ill news from Ireland. As soon as the Marquis of Ormond was arrived, as hath been said before, the confederate Catholics, who held their assembly, as they had always done, at Kilkenny, sent commissioners to him to congratulate his

An account
of the affairs
in Ireland
after the
Marquis of
Ormond's
arrival
there.

his arrival, and to enter upon a treaty of peace, that they might all return to their obedience to the King. But the inconstancy of that nation was such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themselves by their falling from their former peace, and notwithstanding that themselves had sent to Paris to importune the Queen and the Prince to send the Marquis of Ormond back to them, with all promises and protestations that they would not insist upon any unreasonable concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of religion, and insisted upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have irreconciled all the English, who were under the Lord Inchiquin, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: by this means so much time was spent, that the winter passed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanced against the Parliament forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of supplies, whilst the distractions continued in England between the Parliament and the army, the divisions in the army, and the prosecution of the King; during which the governors there had work enough to look to themselves; and left Ireland to provide for itself: and if that unfortunate people would have made use of the advantages that were offered, that kingdom might indeed have been entirely reduced to the King's obedience.

That the Lord Lieutenant might even compel them to preserve themselves, he went himself to Kilkenny, where the Council sat, about Christmas, after three months had been spent from his arrival, that no more time might be lost in their commissioners' coming and going, and that the spring might not be lost as well as the winter. And at last a peace was made and con-

cluded; by which, against such a day, the confederate Catholics obliged themselves "to bring into the field a "body of horse and foot, with all provisions for the "field, which should be at the disposal of the Lord "Lieutenant, and to march as he should appoint." The treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have brought the whole nation to the same agreement. And the General Assembly, to which they all pretended to submit, and from which all had received their commissions, as hath been said, sent to Owen O'Neile, who remained in Ulster with his army, and came not himself to Kilkenny, as he had promised to have done, upon pretence of his indisposition of health. He professed "to submit to whatsoever the General "Assembly should determine:" but when they sent the articles, to which they had agreed, to be signed by him, he took several exceptions, especially in matters of religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and, in the end, positively declared, "that he would not "submit, or be bound by them:" and at the same time he sent to the Marquis of Ormond, "that he "would treat with him apart, and not concern himself "in what the Assembly resolved upon."

The truth is, there was nothing of religion in this contention; which proceeded from the animosity between the two generals, O'Neile and Preston, and the bitter faction between the old Irish and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the English were; and lastly, from the ambition of Owen O'Neile; who expected some concessions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incensed the other party, if they had been granted to him: so that the Assembly was well pleased to leave him out, and concluded the peace without him.

Hereupon

Hereupon the Lord Lieutenant used all possible endeavours that the army might be formed, and ready to march in the beginning of the spring. And though there was not an appearance answerable to their promise, yet their troops seemed so good, and were so numerous, that he thought fit to march towards Dublin; and, in the way, to take all castles and garrisons, which were possessed by the Parliament: in which they had very good success. For many of the Parliament soldiers having served the King, they took the first opportunity, upon the Marquis of Ormond's approach within any distance, to come to him; and by that means several places surrendered likewise to him. Colonel Monk, who had formerly served the King, and remained for the space of three or four years prisoner in the Tower, had been at last prevailed with by the Lord Lisle to serve the Parliament against the Irish; pleasing himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the King. He was at this time Governor of Dundalk, a garrison about thirty miles from Dublin; which was no sooner summoned (Tredagh and those at a nearer distance being taken) but he was compelled by his own soldiers to deliver it up; and if the officer, who commanded the party which summoned him, had not been his friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the King's service, his soldiers would have thrown him over the walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and most of that garrison betook themselves to the King's service.

Upon all these encouragements, before the troops were come up to make the army as numerous as it might have been, the Marquis was persuaded to block up Dublin at a very little distance; having good reason to hope, from the smallness of the garrison, and a party

The Mar-
quis of Or-
mond
blocks up
Dublin.

of well affected people within the town, that it would in a short time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he used all the means he could to hasten the Irish troops, some whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raised, to come up to the army. By all their letters from London (with which, by the way of Dublin, and the ports of Munster, there was good intelligence) they understood, that there were fifteen hundred or two thousand men shipped for Ireland: and the wind having been for some time against their coming for Dublin, there was an apprehension that they might be gone for Munster: whereupon the Lord Inchiquin, who was not confident of all his garrisons there, very unhappily departed with some troops of horse to look after his province; there being then no cause to apprehend any sally out of Dublin, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the wind coming fair, the ships expected came into the port of Dublin; and landed a greater number of soldiers, especially of horse, than was reported; and brought the news that Cromwell himself was made Lieutenant of Ireland, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of horse and foot. This fleet that was already come had brought arms, and clothes, and money, and victuals; which much exalted the garrison and the city; which presently turned out of the town some of those who were suspected to wish well to the Marquis of Ormond, and imprisoned others. The second day after the arrival of the succours, Jones, who had been a lawyer, and was then Governor of Dublin, at noon-day marched out of the city, with a body of three thousand foot, and three or four troops of horse, and fell upon that quarter which was next the town; where they found so little resistance

The Lord
Inchiquin
departs
from him
for Munster.

Recruits
land at
Dublin
from Eng-
land.

Jones sallies
out of Dub-
lin, and
beats the
Marquis of
Ormond's
army.

sistance that they adventured upon the next; and in short so disordered the whole army, one half whereof was on the other side the river, that the Lord Lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some officers whom he drew together, charged the enemy with the loss of many of those who followed him, was at last compelled to draw off the whole army, which was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return them again to their posts, till both the troops which he had were refreshed, and composed, and their numbers increased by the levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

It may be remembered, that the general insurrections in the last year, the revolt of the navy, and the invasion of the Scots, encouraged and drawn in by the Presbyterian party, had so disturbed and obstructed the counsels both in the Parliament, and in the army, that nothing had been done in all that year towards the relief of Ireland, except the sending over the Lord Lisle as Lieutenant, with a commission that was determined at the end of so many months, and which had given so little relief to the English, that it only discovered more their weakness, and animosity towards each other, than obstructed the Irish in making their progress in all the parts of the kingdom; and the more confirmed the Lord Inchiquin to pursue his resolutions of serving the King, and of receiving the Marquis of Ormond, how meanly soever attended, and to unite with the Irish; the perfecting of which conjunction, with so general a success, brought so great reproach upon the Parliament, with reference to the loss of Ireland, that the noise thereof was very great: so that Cromwell thought it high time, in his own person, to appear upon a stage of so great action. There had been always men enough

Cromwell
made Lord
Lieutenant
of Ireland.

to be spared out of the army to have been sent upon that expedition, when the other difficulties were at highest; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power should be superior, the Presbyterian or the Independent. And therefore the one had set up and designed Waller for that command, and Cromwell, against him and that party, had insisted, that it should be given to Lambert, the second man of the army, who was known to have as great a detestation of the Presbyterian power, as he had of the prerogative of the Crown: and the contests between the two factions, which of these should be sent, had spent a great part of the last year, and of their winter counsels. But now, when all the domestic differences were composed by their successes in the field, and the bloody prosecution of their civil counsels, so that there could be little done to the disturbance of the peace of England, and when Waller's friends were so suppressed, that he was no more thought of, Cromwell began to think that the committing the whole government of Ireland, with such an army as was necessary to be sent thither, was too great a trust even for his beloved Lambert himself, and was to lessen his own power and authority, both in the army which was commanded by Fairfax, and in the other, that, being in Ireland, would, upon any occasion, have great influence upon the affairs of England. And therefore, whilst there appeared no other obstructions in the relief of Ireland (which was every day loudly called for) than the determining who should take that charge, some of his friends, who were always ready upon such occasions, on a sudden proposed Cromwell himself the Lieutenant General, to conduct that expedition.

Cromwell himself was always absent when such overtures

tures were to be made; and whoever had proposed Lambert, had proposed it as a thing most agreeable to Cromwell's desire; and therefore, when they heard Cromwell himself proposed for the service, and by those who they were sure intended him no affront, they immediately acquiesced in the proposition, and looked upon the change as a good expedient: on the other side, the Presbyterian party was no less affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the service, and that he never did intend to go thither in person; or that if he did, his absence from England would give them all the advantages they could wish, and that they should then recover entirely their General Fairfax to their party; who was already much broken in spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declared some bitterness against the persons who had led him to it. And so in a moment both parties were agreed, and Oliver Cromwell elected and declared to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with as ample and independent a commission, as could be prepared.

Cromwell, how little surprised soever with this designation, appeared the next day in the House full of confusion and irresolution; which the natural temper and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid, when he least desired it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life. And after much hesitation, and many expressions of "his own unworthiness, and disability to support so great a charge, and of the entire resignation of himself to their commands, and absolute dependence upon God's providence and blessing, from whom he had received many instances of his favour," he submitted to their good will and pleasure; and desired them, "that no more time might be lost in the preparations which

“ were to be made for so great a work ; for he did confess that kingdom to be reduced to so great straits, that he was willing to engage his own person in this expedition, for the difficulties which appeared in it ; and more out of hope, with the hazard of his life, to give some obstruction to the successes which the rebels were at present exalted with,” (for so he called the Marquis of Ormond, and all who joined with him), that so the commonwealth might retain still some footing in that kingdom, till they might be able to send fresh supplies, than out of any expectation, that, with the strength he carried, he should be able, in any signal degree, to prevail over them.”

He provides
forces for
his going
thither.

It was an incredible expedition that he used from this minute after his assuming that charge, in the raising of money, providing of shipping, and drawing of forces together, for this enterprise. Before he could be ready himself to march, he sent three thousand foot and horse to Milford Haven, to be transported, as soon as they arrived there, to Dublin ; all things being ready there for their transportation ; which troops, by the contrary winds, were constrained to remain there for many days. And that caused the report in Ireland, by the intelligence from London, that Cromwell intended to make a descent in Munster ; which unhappily divided the Lord Inchiquin, and a good body of his men, from the Lord Lieutenant, as hath been said, when he marched towards Dublin. Nor did the Marquis of Ormond in truth at that time intend to have marched thither with that expedition, until his army should be grown more numerous, and more accustomed to discipline, but the wonderful successes of those troops, which were sent before, in the taking of Trim, Dundalk, and all the out-garrisons, and the invitation and intelligence

gence he had from within Dublin, made him unwilling to lose any more time, since he was sure that the crossness of the wind only hindered the arrival of those supplies, which were designed thither out of England: and the arrival of those supplies, the very day before his coming before Dublin, enabled the Governor thereof to make that sally which is mentioned before; and had that success which is mentioned.

The Marquis of Ormond, at that time, drew off his whole army from Dublin to Tredagh, where he meant to remain till he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his farther design. And a full account of all these particulars met Cromwell at his arrival at Milford Haven, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of Dublin, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispersed, upon the news of the great success his party had that he had sent before, he deferred not to embark his whole army, and, with a very prosperous wind, arrived at Dublin within two or three days after the Mar- Cromwell arrives at Dublin.
quis of Ormond had retired from thence; where he was received with wonderful acclamation; which did not retard him from pursuing his active resolutions, to improve those advantages had already befallen him. And the Marquis of Ormond was no sooner advertised of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his army to a greater distance, till those parties which were marching towards him from the several quarters of the kingdom might come up to him; and in the mean while to put Tredagh into so good a posture, as might entertain the enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was looked upon, besides the strength of the situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower of

of his army, both of soldiers and officers, most of them English, to the number of three thousand foot, and two or three good troops of horse, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to Sir Arthur Aston, who hath been often mentioned before, and was an officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of Cromwell, for at least a month's time. And the Marquis of Ormond made less doubt, in much less time, to relieve and succour it with his army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a rendezvous for his new levies.

This news
delays the
King's voy-
age into
Ireland.

This news coming to St. Germain's broke all their measures, at least as to the expedition: the resolution continued for Ireland; but it was thought fit that they should expect another account from thence, before the King begun his journey; nor did it seem counsellable that his Majesty should venture to sea whilst the Parliament fleet commanded the ocean, and were then about the coast of Ireland; but that he should expect the autumn, when the season of the year would call home or disperse the ships. But where to stay so long was the question; for it was now the month of August; and as the King had received no kind of civility from France, since his last coming, so it was notorious enough that his absence was impatiently desired by that Court; and the Queen, who found herself disappointed of that dominion which she had expected, resolved to merit from the Cardinal by freeing him from a guest that was so unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and so was not at all solicitous for his longer stay. So his Majesty considered how he should make his departure; and, upon looking round, he resolved, that he would make his journey through Normandy, and

and embark himself for his island of Jersey ; which still continued under his obedience, and under the government of Sir George Carteret ; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the lieutenant of the Lord Jermyn ; who, in those straits the King was in, and the great plenty he himself enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there would lessen some of the profit, which he challenged from thence ; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's support, whilst he should stay there, necessary to sell some of the King's demesnes in that island, the yearly rent whereof used to be received by that lord towards the discharge of the garrisons there, he insisted, with all possible importunity, " that some of the money, which " should be raised upon that sale, should be paid to " him, because his receipt, for the time to come, would " not remain so great as it had been formerly : " and though this demand appeared so unjust and unreasonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him such a note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good sum of money, after the return of his Majesty into England, upon that consideration. This resolution being taken for Jersey, the King sent to the Prince of Orange, " that " he would cause two ships of war to ride in the road " before St. Maloes," (which they might do without notice), " and that he might have a warrant remain in " his hands, by which the ships might attend his Majesty, when he should require them ; " which they might do in very few hours ; and in these he meant to transport himself, as soon as it should be seasonable, into Ireland. These ships did wait his pleasure there accordingly.

France had too good an excuse at this time for not giving

The affairs
of France
whilst the
King was
at Paris.

giving the King any assistance in money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own affairs were in. Though the sedition, which had been raised in Paris the last winter, was at present so much appeased by the courage and conduct of the Prince of Condé, (who brought the army, which he commanded in Flanders, with so great expedition before Paris, that the city yielded to reason); so that his most Christian Majesty, the Queen his mother, and the whole Court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The town continued still in ill humour; more of the great men adhered to them than had done before; the animosities against the Cardinal increased, and, which made those animosities the more terrible, the Prince of Condé, who surely had merited very much, either unsatisfied, or not to be satisfied, broke his friendship with the Cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: so that the Court was far from being in that tranquillity, as to concern itself much for the King our master, if it had been otherwise well inclined to it.

The King
leaves St.
Germain's,
and goes
towards
Jersey.

All things standing thus, about the middle of September, the King left St. Germain's, and begun his journey towards Jersey; and the Queen, the next day, removed from thence to Paris to the Louvre. The two ambassadors for Spain waited upon her Majesty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themselves for their journey to Spain, where they longed to be, and whither they had sent for a pass to meet them at St. Sebastian's, and that they might have a house provided for them at Madrid, against the time they should come thither: both which they recommended to an English gentleman, who lived there, to solicit, and advertise them in their journey of the temper of that Court.

They

They thought it convenient, since they were to desire a pass to go from Paris into Spain, that they should wait upon the Queen Mother of France, and the Cardinal; and likewise upon the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé; who were then in a cabal against the Court. The Prince of Condé spoke so publicly and so warmly against the Cardinal, that most people thought the Cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his house, and admitted few to come to him, and had a strong guard in every room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

In this so general disorder, the ambassadors declined any formal audiences; for which their equipage was not suitable: so the Lord Cottington went privately to the Queen Regent, who received him graciously, and desired him "to recommend her very kindly to her brother the King of Spain," without enlarging upon any thing else. From her he went to the Duke of Orleans, whom he found in more disorder; and when the ambassador told him, "he came to know whether he had any service to command him into Spain," the Duke, who scarce stood still whilst he was speaking, answered aloud, "that he had nothing to do with Spain;" and so went hastily into another room; and the Lord Cottington then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the Prince of Condé, and to the Cardinal. But when they sent to the Prince, he wisely, but with great civility, sent them word, "that they could not be ignorant of the disorder that Court was in, and of the jealousies which were of him;" and therefore desired them "to excuse him, that he did not see them."

The Cardinal appointed them a time; and accordingly they

they met, and conferred together about half an hour, the Lord Cottington speaking Spanish, and the Cardinal and he conferring wholly in that language. The Cardinal acknowledged the apprehension he was in, in his looks; and took occasion in his discourse to mention “the unjust displeasure, which Monsieur le Prince had conceived against him.” He seemed earnestly to desire a peace between the two Crowns; and said, “that he would give a pound of his blood to obtain it;” and desired the ambassadors “to tell Don Lewis de Haro from him, that he would with all his heart meet him upon the frontiers; and that he was confident, if they two were together but three hours, they should compose all differences:” which message he afterwards disavowed, when Don Lewis accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the stairs in disorder enough, his guards being very circumspect, and suffering no stranger to approach any of the rooms.

The Lord Cottington and the Chancellor begin their journey for Spain, and arrive at Bourdeaux.

They begun their journey from Paris upon Michaelmas day, and continued it without resting one day, till they came to Bourdeaux; which was then in rebellion against the King. The city and the Parliament had not only sent several complaints and bitter invectives against the Duke of Espernon, their governor, for his acts of tyranny in his government, but had presumed, in order to make his person the more ungracious, to asperse his life and manners with those reproaches which they believed would most reflect upon the Court. And the truth is, their greatest quarrel against him was, that he was a fast friend to the Cardinal, and would not be divided from his interest. They had driven the Duke out of the town, and did not only desire the King, “that he might no more be their governor; but that his Ma-

“jesty

“ jeſty would give the government to the Prince of “ Condé;” which made their complaints the leſs conſidered as juſt. And it was then one of the moſt avowed exceptions that Prince had againſt the Cardinal, that he had not that government upon the petition of Bourdeaux, ſince he offered to reſign his of Burgundy, which was held to be of as much value, to accommodate and repair the Duke of Eſpernon. At Blay, the ambafſadors were viſited by the Marſhal of Pleſſy Praſlin; who had been ſent by the Court to treat with the Parliament of Bourdeaux, but could bring them to no reaſon, they poſitively inſiſting upon the remove of their old governor, and conſerring the command upon the Prince. When they came to Bourdeaux they found the Château Trompette, which ſtill held for the King, ſhooting at the town, the town having inveſted it very cloſe, that no ſuccour could be put into them, the Duke of Eſpernon being at his houſe at Cadillac, from whence his horſe every day infeſted the citizens when they ſtirred out of the town. Here the ambafſadors were compelled to ſtay one whole day, the diſorders upon the river, and in the town, not ſuffering their coaches and baggage to follow them ſo ſoon as they ſhould have done. They were here viſited by ſome counſellors and preſidents of the Parliament; who profeſſed duty to their King, but irreconcilable hatred to the Duke of Eſpernon; againſt whom they had publiſhed ſeveral remonſtrances in print, and dedicated them to the Prince of Condé. After a day’s reſt there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continued their journey to Bayonne; and arrived, upon the twentieth day from their leaving Paris, at the Taio; where they took boat, and in an hour or two arrived at Girona. The next day they went by the river to Paſſage, and when they came out of their boats,

boats, which were rowed by women, according to their privilege there, they found mules, sent from St. Sebastian's to carry them thither. About half a mile from the town they were met by the Governor of Guipuscoa, Don Antonio de Cardinas, an old soldier, and a Knight of the Order, the Corregidor and all the magistrates of St. Sebastian's, and the English merchants which inhabited there; and were conducted by the Governor to one of the best houses in the town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the Governor, and the rest of the magistrates, took their leave of them.

They had not been half an hour in their lodging, conferring with the English merchants, about conveniences to prosecute their journey, when the Corregidor came to them, and desired to speak with them in private, and after some compliment and apology, he shewed them a letter, which he had received from the Secretary of State; the contents whereof were, "that when the "ambassadors of the Prince of Wales should arrive "there, they should be received with all respect; but "that he should find some means to persuade them to "stay and remain there, till he should give the King "notice of it, and receive his farther pleasure." And at the same time an English merchant of the town, who had told them before, that he had letters from Madrid for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a packet from Sir Benjamin Wright: who was entrusted by them to solicit at Madrid for their pass, and for a house to be prepared for them. In this letter their pass was inclosed, under the same style, as ambassadors from the Prince of Wales; which he had observed upon the place, and desired to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any order for the providing

viding a house for them ; but was told, " that it should
 " be done time enough." This was an unexpected
 mortification to them ; but they seemed not to be trou-
 bled at it, as if they had intended to stay there a month,
 to refresh themselves after their long journey, and in ex-
 pectation of other letters from the King their master.
 The Corregidor offered to send away an express the
 same night, which they accepted of ; and writ to Don
 Lewis de Haro, " that the King their master had sent
 " them his ambassadors to his Catholic Majesty, upon
 " affairs of the highest importance: that they were come
 " so far on their way, but had, to their great wonder, met
 " there with a signification of that King's pleasure, that
 " they should stay and remain there, till they should re-
 " ceive his Majesty's farther orders ; which troubled
 " them not so much, as to find themselves styled the
 " ambassadors of the Prince of Wales, which they
 " thought very strange, after his Catholic Majesty had
 " sent an ambassador to the King their master before
 " they left him : they desired therefore to know, whe-
 " ther their persons were unacceptable to his Catholic
 " Majesty, and if that were the case, they would imme-
 " diately return to their master ; otherwise, if his Ma-
 " jesty were content to receive them, they desired they
 " might be treated in that manner as was due to the
 " honour and dignity of the King their master." And
 they writ to Sir Benjamin Wright, " to attend Don
 " Lewis, and if he found that they were expected at
 " Madrid, and that they reformed the errors they had
 " committed, he should then use those importunities,
 " which were necessary for the providing a house for
 " them against they should come."

Though the Court was then full of business, being in
 daily expectation of their new Queen ; who was landed,

Their
passes are
sent to
them.

and at that time within few days journey of Madrid ; yet the very next day after the letter was delivered to Don Lewis de Haro, he returned an answer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed to the negligence or ignorance of the Secretary ; and sent them new passes in the proper style ; and assured them, “ that they should find a very good welcome from his Majesty.” And Sir Benjamin Wright sent them word, “ that he had received the warrant for the providing the house ; and “ the officer, to whom it was directed, had called “ upon him to view two or three houses ; and that “ Don Lewis told him, that, as soon as he had found a “ house that pleased him, orders should be given to the “ King’s officers of the wardrobe to furnish it ; and then “ when the ambassadors came, there should be one of “ the King’s coaches to attend them whilst they stayed.” Hereupon they made haste in their journey, with some satisfaction and confidence that they should find a Court not so hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with so barefaced and formed an affront, and then so easily recede from it with weak apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wished that they had not come ; and imagined that this might put them to return again, and then were ashamed of their own expedient, and being pressed, chose rather to decline than avow it : so unnatural a thing is it for that Court to stoop to any ugly action, without doing it so ungraciously, as to confess it in their own countenance, and quickly receding from it.

It was about the middle of November when they left St. Sebastian’s, the weather yet continuing fair ; and a gentleman of quality of the country was appointed to accompany them out of the jurisdiction of Guipuscoa, which was to the city of Victoria ; and from thence they

they entered into Castile. When they came to Alca-
 vendas, within three leagues of Madrid, they sent to
 Sir Benjamin Wright to know what house was pro-
 vided for them: he came to them, and told them,
 "all things were in the same state they were when he
 "writ to them to St. Sebastian's: that though Don
 "Lewis gave him very good words, and seemed much
 "troubled and angry with the officers that the house
 "was not ready, and the officers excused themselves
 "upon the jollities the town was in during the *fiestas*,
 "which were held every day for the Queen's arrival,
 "that nobody could attend any particular affair, yet it
 "was evident there was not that care taken from the
 "Court that there ought to have been, and that Don
 "Alonzo de Cardinas from England had done the am-
 "bassadors all the ill offices possible, as if their good
 "reception in Spain would incense the Parliament,
 "and make them more propitious to France, which
 "valued itself upon having driven all the royal family
 "from thence."

Upon this new mortification, they writ again from
 thence to Don Lewis, to desire, "that they might not
 "be put to stay there for want of a house, and so be
 "exposed to contempt." Nor were they accommodated
 in that place in any degree. He always answered their
 letters with great punctuality, and with courtesy enough,
 as if all things should be ready by the next day. The
 English merchants, who resided at Madrid, came every
 day to visit them, but still brought them word, that
 there was no appearance of any provision made to re-
 ceive them; so that, after a week's stay in that little
 town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil
 offer and invitation which Sir Benjamin Wright made
 them, of reposing themselves *incognito* in his house;

They go
into Ma-
drid *incog-
nito*; and
lodgeat first
at Sir Ben-
jamin
Wright's
house.

which would only receive their persons with a valet de chambre for each; and the rest of their family was quartered in the next adjacent houses for the reception of strangers; so they went privately in the evening into Madrid in Sir Benjamin Wright's coach, and came to his house: and if, by his generosity, they had not been thus accommodated, they must have been exposed to reproach and infamy, by the very little respect they received from the Court. This Sir Benjamin Wright was a gentleman of a good family in Essex; and, being a younger brother, had been bred a merchant in Madrid; where he had great business, and great reputation; and, having married a wife of the family of Toledo, was become a perfect Spaniard, not only in the language, but in the generous part of their nature and customs.

The Court well enough knew of their arrival, but took no notice of it. The Lord Cottington therefore sent to Don Lewis, to desire that he might have a private audience of him *incognito*; which he presently consented to, and appointed, the next morning, to meet in the King's garden; which was at such a distance from the Court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: Don Lewis was a man of little ceremony, and used no flourishes in his discourses, which made most men believe that he said all things from his heart; and he seemed to speak so cordially, that the Lord Cottington, who was not easy to be imposed upon, did think that they should have a house very speedily, and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He spoke, with more commotion than was natural to him, in the business of the murder of the King; excused all the omissions towards the ambassadors; "which should be repaired out of hand, after the
" few days, which yet remained to be spent in *festas* for
" the

“ the Queen ; during which time, he said, no officers
“ would obey any orders that diverted them from the
“ fight of the triumphs ; and wished that the ambassa-
“ dors would see the masquerade that afternoon, and the
“ *toros* the day following.”

The Lord Cottington returned home very well satisfied ; and had not been half an hour in the house, when a gentleman came from Don Lewis to invite the ambassadors to see those exercises, which were mentioned before ; and sent them word that there should be places provided for them. The Chancellor went that afternoon to the place assigned, where he saw the masquerade, and the running of the course, and, afterwards, the *toros*.

At the running of the course, the King and Don Lewis run several courses, in all which Don Lewis was too good a courtier to win any prize, though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the people was very great, and the ladies in all the windows made a very rich shew, otherwise the shew itself had nothing wonderful. Here there happened to be some sudden sharp words between the Admirante of Castile, a haughty young man, and the Marquis de Liche, the eldest son of Don Lewis de Haro ; the which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed the squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their chambers.

At the entertainment of the *toros* there was another accident, the mention whereof is not unfit to shew the discipline and severity of that nation in the observation of order. It was remembered, that at the masquerade, the Admirante and the Marquis of Liche were sent to their chambers : and afterwards, the matter being examined, they were both commanded to leave the town, and retire each to a house of his own, that was within

three or four leagues of the town. The Marquis of Liche was known to have gone the next day, and nobody doubted the same of the Admirante, those orders being never disputed or disobeyed. The King, as he was going to the *toros*, either himself discerned at another balcony, or somebody else advertised him of it, that the Duchess, who was wife to the Admirante, was there; and said, "he knew that lady was a woman of more honour than to come out of her house, and be present at the *fiesta*, whilst her husband was under restraint, and in his Majesty's displeasure;" and therefore concluded that her husband was likewise there; and thereupon sent an Alguazil to that room, with command to examine carefully with his eye, whether the Admirante was there; for there appeared none but women. The Admirante being a young rash man, much in the King's favour, and a gentleman of his Bedchamber, thought he might undiscerned see the triumph of that day; and therefore caused himself to be dressed in the habit of a lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his wife to go with him; who exceedingly resisted his commands, well knowing to what reproach she exposed her own honour, though she had no fear of his being discovered. The Alguazil brought the King word, that he was very sure that the Admirante was there, in the habit of a woman, and sat next his wife among many other ladies. Whereupon the King sent the officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to the officer's own house. And as soon as the King returned to the palace, there was an order that the Alguazil should the next morning carry the Admirante to Valladolid, four days journey from Madrid, to a house of his own there; where he was confined not to go out of the limits of that city; and under this restraint remained for the space of full

full three years: so penal a thing it is amongst that people, for any man, of how great quality soever, (there was not in Spain a man of greater than the Admirante of Castile), to disobey or elude the judgment of the King.

It may be thought impertinent to the work in hand, to make a digression upon this embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occurred in it, of the formality and constitution of that Court, of the nature and humour of that people, which may seem foreign to the affairs of England. But since the King, after his leaving Paris, remained in Jersey for many months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to quit that retirement, in all which time there was no action or counsel to be mentioned, and this being the first and the only embassy, in which his Majesty's person was represented, until his blessed return into England, (for though some other persons were afterwards sent to other princes, with commissions to perform that function, if they found encouragement so to do, yet none assumed that character, nor were treated as such in any Court in Christendom, Spain only excepted), it may therefore be reasonably thought not improper in this history, to give such a relation of this negociation, that it may appear what sense so great a Court as that of Spain had of those revolutions in England, and of the deplorable condition to which this young innocent Prince was reduced, when it was fully pressed to them in the most efficacious terms possible; and every circumstance of their reception and treatment may serve to illustrate those particulars; and therefore we shall proceed farther in the relation of them.

Before their audience, Don Lewis de Haro sent them

The King
remains
several
months in
Jersey.

An account
of the am-
bassadors'
audience.

word of the imprisonment of the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Longueville, and that Marshal Turenne had made his escape into Flanders; the news whereof gave the Spanish Court much trouble; for they had promised themselves a better harvest from that seed, which they had carefully and industriously sown, and that thereby the Cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would have been totally suppressed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a peace, which was not less desired in France than in Spain; or that those princes, and all their dependents, would have appeared in arms in that kingdom; by which the Spaniards should be able to recover much of what they had lost in Flanders; the hopes of either of which appeared now blasted by this unexpected revival of the Cardinal's power.

Upon the day assigned for the audience, it being resolved that, when they had ended with the King, they should likewise have one of the Queen, Don Lewis de Haro sent horses to their lodging, for the accommodation of the ambassadors, and their servants: it being the fashion of that Court, that the ambassadors ride to their first audience. And so they rode, being attended by all their own servants, and all the English merchants who lived in the town, together with many Irish officers who were in the service of his Catholic Majesty, all on horseback; so that their cavalcade appeared very fair, all the coaches of other ambassadors likewise following them. In this manner they came to the Court about ten of the clock in the morning, being conducted by an officer, who had been sent to their lodging, and rode with them to the Court.

Through several rooms, where there was only one officer, who attended to open and shut the doors, they came

came to the room next that where his Majesty was ; where, after a little stay, whilst their conductor went in and out, they found the King standing upright, with his back against the wall, and the grandees at a distance, in the same posture, against the wall. When they had made their several respects, and came to the King, he lightly moved his hat, and bid them cover. The Lord Cottington spoke only general things, “ of the confidence “ the King had in his Majesty’s kindness, and that he “ believed his condition such, as that all the kings of “ the world were concerned to vindicate the wrong he “ sustained : that this was the first embassy he had sent, “ relying more upon the honour of his Majesty’s nature “ and generosity, than upon any other prince ; ” with discourses of the same nature : then they presented their credentials.

The King expressed a very tender sense of our King’s condition, and acknowledged “ that it concerned all “ kings to join together for the punishment of such an “ impious rebellion and parricide ; and if his own affairs “ would permit it, he would be the first that would “ undertake it ; but that they could not but know how “ full his hands were ; and whilst he had so powerful an “ adversary to contend with, he could hardly defend “ himself ; but that when there should be a peace with “ France,” (which he desired), “ the King, his Sobrino,” (for so he still called the King, his nephew), “ should “ find all he could expect from him ; in the mean time “ he would be ready to do all that was in his power towards his assistance and relief.” After the formal part was over, the King asked many questions, most with reference to his sister, the Queen of France ; and discoursed very intelligently of every thing ; so that his defects proceeded only from the laziness of his mind,
not

not from any want of understanding ; and he seemed then, when he was about eight and forty years of age, to have great vigour of body, having a clear ruddy complexion ; yet he had been accustomed to fevers from his debauches with women, by which he was much wasted.

From the King they were conducted to the Queen ; who used very few words, and spoke so low, that she could scarce be heard ; she stood, in the same manner the King did, against a wall, and her ladies on both sides as the grandees did ; the Infanta at a little distance from her, to whom likewise they made a compliment from their master. The Queen was then about eighteen years of age, not tall, round faced, and inclined to be fat. The Infanta was much lower, as she ought to be by her age, but of a very lovely complexion, without any help of art, which every one else in the room, even the Queen herself, was beholden to ; and she was then the fullest of spirit and wit of any lady in Spain, which she had not improved afterwards, when she had more years upon her. Their audience ended, they returned ; and at last they had a house provided for them in the Calle de Alcala, belonging to the Marquis of Villa Magna, to whom the King paid four hundred pounds sterling by the year.

They have
an house
assigned
them.

The Council of State at this time consisted of Don Lewis de Haro, the Duke de Medina de los Torres, Duke de Mounterey, Marquis of Castille Roderigo, Marquis de Vall-Periso, the Conde of Castrilio, and Don Francisco de Melo ; there were no more residing in that Court then ; the Duke de Medina Celi residing constantly at his government of St. Lucar ; the Marquis of Leganez being General against Portugal, and so remaining at Badajoz, and coming seldom to Madrid ; and the Duke

Duke of Arcos stood confined to his house, since the defection of Naples when it was under his government ; and the Conde de Pignoranda was not yet come out of Flanders.

Don Lewis was as absolute a favourite in the eyes of his master, had as entire a disposal of all his affections and faculties, as any favourite of that age : nor was any thing transacted at home or abroad, but by his direction and determination : and yet of all the favourites of that, or any other time, no man ever did so little alone, or seemed less to enjoy the delight and empire of a favourite. In the most ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little deliberation, and in the nature of them required expedition, he would give no order without formal consultation with the rest of the Council ; which hindered dispatch, and made his parts the more suspected. He was son of the Marquis of Carpio, who had married the sister of Olivarez, and had been put about the person of the King, being about the same age with his Majesty, and had so grown up in his affection, and was not thought to have been displeased at the disgrace of his uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not succeed in the place of favourite in many years, nor seemed to be concerned in any business till after the death of the then Queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the King's affection, who had a great kindness for his person, than by the ambition of his own nature, or any delight in business. His education had not fitted him for it, and his natural parts were not sharp, yet his industry was great, and the more commendable, because his nature had some repugnancy to it, and his experience had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke impertinently, but discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all subjects.

He

He was of a melancholic complexion ; which, it may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself to himself, which was his defect. He seemed to be a very honest and well natured man, and did very rarely manifest his power in acts of oppression, or hard-heartedness ; which made him grateful to most particular men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His port and grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the French Cardinals ; the last of which was favourite during his administration. Nor did he affect wealth as they did, not leaving a fortune behind him much improved by his own industry : yet it cannot be denied, that the affairs of Spain declined more, in the time they were under his government, than at any time before ; and that less was done with the consumption of so much money, than might have been expected. But it must be likewise considered, that he entered upon that administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of Portugal, and the defection in Catalonia, which made such a rent in that Crown, as would have required more than an ordinary statesman to have repaired, and make it flourish as before.

Of the
Conde of
Pignora-
randa.

The ambassadors had not been long at Madrid, when the Conde of Pignoranda returned thither from his negotiation in the treaty of Munster. He had been declared to be of the Council of State, after he had made that peace with Holland, and was admitted to it as soon as he returned. He was Conde in the right of his wife only ; and before, being of a good family, Don Diego de Brachamonte, and bred in the study of the law, was looked upon as a good man of business, and so employed in matters of greatest trust. He was indeed a man of great parts, and understood the affairs of the world better than most in that Court. He was proud to the height
of

of his nation, and retained too much of the pedantry which he had brought with him from Salamanca. As soon as he returned, according to the method of that Court upon great and successful employments, the Presidentship de los Ordines, an office of great reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferred upon him. The ambassadors found no benefit by his arrival, coming from Brussels, which was thoroughly infected by Don Alonzo. The truth is, Don Alonzo, who had no affection for the King, upon the memory of some disobligations when he first came over into England, and liked well his employment and residence there, used all the endeavours imaginable to have the King's condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and that therefore all civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Commonwealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that Spain thought only how to make a firm friendship there, and to forget that there ever had been a King of England, in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore when the ambassadors, after all ceremonies were over, had a private audience of the King, and desired, "that he would appoint commissioners, with whom they might treat about the renewing the alliance between the two Crowns, which had been provided for by the last treaty to be renewed within so many months after the death of either King, and with whom they might likewise confer upon such relief in arms and money, as his Catholic Majesty would think proper to send to their master into Ireland," (whither one of the ambassadors desired to hasten his journey as soon as might be; and in that memorial, which they then delivered to his Catholic Majesty, they had desired likewise "that he would write

The ambassadors' private audience and demands.

" to

The answer
they re-
ceive.

“ to Owen O’Neile to dispose him to submit to the
“ King”), they received shortly after an answer, sent to
them by Don Francisco de Melo, who told them, “ that
“ the King had sent him to them, to confer with them
“ upon the substance of their last memorial. He said,
“ the King did not think it necessary to appoint any
“ committee to renew the last treaty of peace ; which
“ was still in force, and might well be observed between
“ the two nations ; and that the renewing might be de-
“ ferred till the times should mend ;” implying very
little less than that when the King should be in England,
it would be a fit time to renew the alliance. He said,
“ he was ready to receive any propositions from them,
“ wherein they might more particularly set down their
“ desires, if they were ready to depart ; and for writing
“ to Owen O’Neile,” (whom he called Don Eugenio,)
“ he had so misbehaved himself towards his Catholic
“ Majesty, by leaving his service in Flanders, and trans-
“ porting himself into Ireland without his licence, that
“ his Majesty could not in honour write to him ; but
“ that he would take such care, that he should know it
“ would be agreeable to his Majesty’s good liking, that
“ he betook himself to the service of the King of Great
“ Britain without reserve ; which he did believe would
“ dispose him to it :” which method the ambassadors
conceived was proposed, because they should believe that
the Spaniard had no hand in sending him into that
kingdom, or in fomenting the rebellion there ; whereas
at the same time Don Diego de la Torre was with the
Irish as resident or envoy from Spain.

This answer was evidence enough to them, how little
they were to expect from any avowed friendship of that
Crown, though they still thought they might be able to
obtain some little favour in private, as arms, and am-
munition,

munition, and a small supply of money for the King's subsistence, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was designed by the King to attend him in Ireland, expected only to hear that he was arrived there, till when he could not present his memorial so particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himself for his voyage thither : and so they rested for some time, without giving the Court any farther trouble by audiences.

Now whilst they were in this impatient expectation to hear from the King their master, who yet remained at Jersey, by which they might take their own resolutions, Prince Rupert came upon the coast of Spain with the fleet under his command; which he had brought from Ireland; and had sent a letter on shore to be sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; which the officer upon the place sent presently to Don Lewis de Haro; who, in the same moment, sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The Prince writ him word, "that he had brought away all the fleet from Ireland, and that he had received an assurance from Portugal, that he should be very welcome thither; upon which he was resolved, after he had attended some days to meet with any English ships that might be prize, to go for Lisbon; and desired him to procure orders from the Court, that he might find a good reception in all the ports of Spain, if his occasions brought him thither." The ambassadors sent immediately for an audience to Don Lewis; who received them with open arms, and another kind of countenance than he had ever done before. A fleet of the King of England, under the command of a Prince of the blood, upon the coast of Spain, at a season of the year when they expected the return of their galleons from the Indies, made a great consternation amongst

Prince Rupert comes upon the coast of Spain.

His letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

amongst the people, and the Court received the news of it with disorder enough. All that the ambassadors asked was granted without hesitation; and letters were dispatched away that very night (copies whereof were sent to the ambassadors) by several expresses, to all the governors of the ports, and other officers, for the good reception of Prince Rupert, or any ships under his command, if they came into any of the ports; and for the furnishing them with any provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly clauses as could have been inserted if the King had been in possession of his whole empire: so great an influence a little appearance of power had upon their spirits; and the ambassadors found they lived in another kind of air than they had done, and received every day visits and caresses from the Court, and from those in authority.

The Prince with the gross of his fleet goes into the river of Lisbon.

But the government of these benign stars was very short: within few days after, they received news, "that the Prince, with the gross of his fleet, was gone into the river of Lisbon, and that a squadron of four or five ships, under the command of Captain Allen, being severed from the Prince by a storm, was driven upon the rocks at Carthagena; where the people of the country had treated them very rudely, and seized both upon the ships, and persons of the men, and the storm continuing had wrecked two or three of their vessels in the road, though the guns and all things in the ships were saved." When the ambassadors demanded justice, "and that restitution might be made of all those goods, and ordnance, and rigging of the ships, which not only the people, but the governors, and officers themselves had seized upon," they were received with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the same expedition in granting what they could

could not deny. Orders were at last given for the setting all the men at liberty, and re-delivery of the goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their vessels, and transport their men.

But as these orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and a stronger fleet set out by the Parliament of England then appeared upon the coast, which came into the road of St. Andero's; from whence the commander in chief writ a very important letter in English to the King of Spain; wherein he required, "that none of those ships under the command of Prince Rupert, which had revolted from the Parliament, and were in rebellion against it, might be received into any of the ports of Spain, and that those ships which were in the ports of Carthagena might be delivered to him, and the ordnance and tackling of the other which were wrecked might be carefully kept, and be delivered to such person as should be authorized to receive the same by the Commonwealth of England; to whom they belonged:" and concluded, "that as the Commonwealth of England was willing to live in amity and good intelligence with his Catholic Majesty, so they knew very well how to do themselves right for any injury, or discourtesy, which they should sustain."

This imperious style made such an impression upon the Court, that all the importunity the ambassadors could use could get nothing done at Carthagena in pursuance of the orders they had sent from the Court; but the poor men were, after long attendance, forced to transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them marched over land, and were compelled to list themselves in the Spanish service at land; where they, for the most part, perished; care being

He sails
into the
river of
Lisbon.

Requires
Prince
Rupert's
fleet to be
delivered
up.

in the mean time taken, that the Parliament fleet should be received in all places, with all possible demonstration of respect and kindness; and the King sent a ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to the commander. In this triumph he sailed from thence into Portugal, and dropped his anchors in the river of Lisbon, at a very small distance from the fleet of Prince Rupert; and suffered not any ship to enter into that river; but denounced war against that kingdom, if that fleet were not presently delivered up into his hands.

The Portugueze had received Prince Rupert very civilly, bought all the prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free use of all their ports, and furnished him with all things he stood in need of. The Queen, and the Prince of Portugal then living, who was a young man of great hope and courage, made great professions of friendship to our King, and of a desire to assist him by all the ways and means which could be proposed to them. But when their river was blocked up, their ships taken, and the whole kingdom upon the matter besieged by the Parliament fleet, of which they knew the Spaniard would quickly make use, the Council was astonished, and knew not what to do: their free trade with England was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they should be deprived of that, they should not be able to preserve it any where else; which would put the whole kingdom into a flame; and therefore they besought their King, "that Prince Rupert might be desired to leave the river, and to carry his fleet from thence;" which was not possible for him to do without fighting with the enemy, to whom he was much inferior in strength of shipping, and number of men, by the loss he had sustained at Carthagena.

The Prince of Portugal had so great indignation at
this

this overture made by the Council, that he declared "he would have all the ships in the port made ready, and would himself go on board, and join with Prince Rupert, and fight the English, and drive them from thence:" and he manifested a great desire to do so; but the Council prevailed with the Queen not to consent to that. So in the end, after some months stay there, and the fleet being fully supplied with whatever it stood in need of, Prince Rupert found it necessary, upon the assurance the Portuguese gave him that the other fleet should not follow him till after two tides, to set sail and leave that kingdom; which he did with so full a gale, that the Parliament's commander, after so long a stay, found it to no purpose to follow him; but took full vengeance upon Portugal for rescuing his prey from him; until they were compelled, after great sufferings, to purchase their peace from Cromwell upon very hard conditions.

It seemed no good sign to the ambassadors that Prince Rupert had left Ireland; where there were so many good ports, and where the fleet had been so necessary for the carrying on his Majesty's service. But, in a short time after, they received advertisement, "that the King had laid aside his purpose of going thither, and had taken new resolutions." Before the Marquis of Ormond could draw his army together, Cromwell had besieged Tredagh: and though the garrison was so strong in point of number, and that number of so choice men, that they could wish for nothing more than that the enemy would attempt to take them by storm, the very next day after he came before the town he gave a general assault, and was beaten off with considerable loss. But, after a day more, he assaulted it again in two places, with so much courage, that he entered in both;

Tredagh
taken by
storm.

and though the governor and some of the chief officers retired in disorder into a fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panic fear so possessed the soldiers, that they threw down their arms upon a general offer of quarter: so that the enemy entered the works without resistance, and put every man, governor, officer, and soldier, to the sword; and the whole army being entered the town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every man that related to the garrison, and all the citizens who were Irish, man, woman, and child, to the sword; and there being three or four officers of name, and of good families, who had found some way, by the humanity of some soldiers of the enemy, to conceal themselves for four or five days, being afterwards discovered, they were butchered in cold blood.

Cromwell
marches
into Mun-
ster.

This insupportable loss took away all hopes from the Marquis of Ormond of drawing an army strong enough, and resolute enough, together, to meet Cromwell in the field, during the summer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into those quarters, where, in respect of the strong passes, he might be secure, and from whence he might attempt upon the enemy. Cromwell in the mean time took no rest, but, having made himself terrible by that excess of rigour and cruelty, marched into Munster against the Lord Inchiquin, and that body of English which was under his command.

His success
there.

Here he defied fortune again; and marched so far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reasonable hope to receive supplies, that he must necessarily have been starved, and could not have retired, all the bridges over which he had passed being broken down, if the city of Cork, which he could not have forced, had not been by the garrison basely delivered up to him; those officers who had been most obliged to
the

the Lord Inchiquin, and in whom he had most confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forsaking him : so that by the example of Cork, and by the terror of Tredagh, the whole province of Munster in a very short time fell into Cromwell's hands, except some few towns and sea-ports, which, being garrisoned by the Irish, would, neither officers nor soldiers, receive or obey any orders which were sent from the Lord of Ormond.

The King receiving information of this at Jersey, gave ^{The King gives over the thought of going into Ireland.} over the thought very reasonably of adventuring himself into Ireland; and dismissed the two ships, which, by the direction of the Prince of Orange, had attended so long at St. Maloes, to have wafted him thither.

Though Duke Hamilton, and the Earl of Lantherdale, and the other Scottish lords, who remained in Holland when the King came into France, durst not return into their own country, yet they held intelligence with their party there. And though the Marquis of Argyle had the sole power, yet he could not extinguish the impatient desire of that whole nation, to have their King come to them. And every day produced instances enough, which informed him, how the affections of the people were generally disposed, and upon how slippery ground himself stood, if he were not supported by the King; and that the government he was then possessed of could not be lasting, except he had another force to defend him, than that of his own nation. And he durst not receive any from Cromwell, who would willingly have assisted him, for fear of being entirely deserted by all his friends, who had been still firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the King into Scotland, and keeping the Hamiltonian faction from entering with him, by the sentence that was already against them; and to oblige the King to submit to the Covenant, and all

^{Argyle designs to invite the King into Scotland.}

those other obligations which were at that time established; and if his Majesty would put himself into his hands upon those conditions, he should be sure to keep the power in himself under the King's name, and might reasonably hope that Cromwell, who made no pretence to Scotland, might be well enough pleased that his Majesty might remain there under his government, and assurance, that he should not give England or Ireland any disturbance.

Provides, that a message be sent to his Majesty to Jersey upon the old conditions.

Upon this presumption, he wished the Council of Scotland, and that committee of the Parliament in whom the authority was vested, to send again to the King, (who, they thought, by this time, might be weary of Jersey), to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the people did so passionately desire, he renewed all the solemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the King to come amongst them, but upon his first submitting to and performing all those conditions. All things being thus settled, and agreed, they sent a gentleman with letters into Jersey, to invite his Majesty again to come into his kingdom of Scotland, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he should receive. The Scottish lords, who are mentioned before to be then in Holland, were glad of this advance; and believed that if the King were there, they should easily find the way home again. And therefore they prevailed with the Prince of Orange, to write very earnestly to the King, and to recommend it to the Queen; and themselves made great instance to the Queen, with whom they had much credit, "that the King " would not lose this opportunity to improve his condition." Nobody presumed to advise him to submit to all that was proposed; and yet it was evident, that if he did

not

not submit to all, he could have the benefit of none; but “that he should make such an answer as might engage the Scots in a treaty, for the King’s better information, and satisfaction in some particulars: which being done, he should imply a purpose to transport his person thither.”

The spring was now coming on, and though Jersey was a convenient place to retire to, in order to consider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reside in, nor would be longer safe, than whilst the Parliament had so much else to do, that it could not spare wherewithal to reduce it. The design for Ireland was at an end, and the despair of being welcome in any other place compelled the King to think better of Scotland; and so, according to the advice he had received, he returned an answer to the message from Scotland, “that there were many particulars contained in the propositions which he did not understand, and which it was necessary for him to be advised in; and, in order thereunto, and that he might be well informed and instructed in what so nearly concerned him, he resolved, by such a time, which was set down, to find himself in Holland; where he desired to meet such persons as his kingdom of Scotland would send to him, and to confer, and treat, and agree with those upon all things that might give his subjects of that kingdom satisfaction; which his Majesty did very much desire to do.”

The Queen had so good an opinion of many of the Scottish lords, and so ill a one of many of the English who were about the King, (in truth, she had so entire a despair of all other ways), that she was very desirous that the overtures from Scotland should be hearkened to, and embraced: besides that she found her authority was

not so great with the King, as she expected, she saw no possibility of their being long together : she knew well that the Court of France, that grew every day into a closer correspondence with Cromwell, would not endure that the King should make his residence in any part of that kingdom, and so shortened the assignations which they had made for her own support, that she was at no ease, and begun to think of dissolving her own family, and of her own retiring into a monastery ; which from that time she practised by degrees : and, no doubt, that consideration which made most impression upon the King, as it had done upon his father, and terrified him most from complying with the Scots' demands, which was the alteration it would make in religion, and the government of the Church, seemed not to her of moment enough to reject the other conveniences ; nor did she prefer the order and decency of the Church of England, before the sordidness of the Kirk of Scotland, but thought it the best expedient to advance her own religion, that the latter should triumph over the former.

The Queen advises the King to agree with the Scots upon their terms.

She therefore writ earnestly to the King her son, " that he would entertain this motion from Scotland, as his only refuge ; and that he would invite commissioners to meet him in Holland, in such a place as the Prince of Orange should advise ; " and desired that, in his passage thither, he would appoint some place where her Majesty would meet him ; that they might spend some days together in consultation upon what might concern them jointly." In all which his Majesty complying, the city of Beauvais in Picardy was appointed for the interview ; where both their Majesties met, and conversed together three or four days ; and then the Queen returned to Paris, and the King passed through Flanders to Breda ; which the Prince of Orange thought

Their Majesties meet at Beauvais.

The King goes to Breda.

thought to be the fittest place for the treaty, the States having no mind that the King should come any more to the Hague.

The Scottish commissioners came to Breda with the very same propositions which had been formerly sent, and without the least mitigation, and as positive an exception to persons: so that if the King should incline to go thither, he must go without any one chaplain of his own: there were ministers sent from Scotland to attend, and to instruct him. His Majesty must not carry with him any one counsellor, nor any person who had ever served his father in the war against the Parliament, without taking the Covenant. And, that nobody might have cause to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worse treated than they had reason to expect, the King himself, and all who should attend upon him, were first to sign the Covenant before they should be admitted to enter into the kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any man justly except against any thing that was afterwards done to him.

Here was no great argument for consultation: no man had so ill an understanding, as not to discern the violence that was offered to honour, justice, and conscience; yet whoever objected against what was proposed, upon any of those considerations, was looked upon as a party, because he himself could not be suffered to attend the King. It was thought to be of great weight, that they who dissuaded the King from going into Scotland, upon those rude and barbarous terms, could not propose any thing else for him to do, nor any place where he might securely repose himself, with any hope of subsistence: a very sad state for a prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifest enough, that the kings of the earth are not such a body as is sensible of the indignity and outrage that

is offered to any member of it. The Scottish Hamiltonian lords were thought to be the most competent counsellors, since they, by going, were to be exposed to great rigour, and to undergo the severest part of all censures. They could not sit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and knew well that they should not be suffered to be about the person of the King: yet all these resolved to wait upon him, and persuaded him to believe, "that his Majesty's presence would dissipate those clouds; and that "a little time would produce many alterations, which "could not be presently effected." For his Majesty's signing the Covenant, "he should tell the commissioners, that he would defer it till he came thither, "that he might think better of it; and that if then the "Kirk should press it upon him, he would give them "satisfaction. And they were confident, that, after he "should be there, he should be no more importuned in "it, but that even the churchmen themselves would "contend to make themselves gracious to him."

This kind of argumentation wrought much with the Prince of Orange, but more with the Duke of Buckingham, who had waited upon the King from the time of his adventure with the Earl of Holland, (against whose person there was no exception), and with Wilmot, and Wentworth, (who resolved to go with his Majesty, and would submit to any conditions, which would be required of them), and with others about the King, who could not digest the Covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promises those Scottish lords made to them, who were like to grow into authority again when they should be once in their native air and upon their own soil, prevailed with them to use all their credit with the King to embark himself, and try how propitious fortune would be to him
in

in Scotland. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a strong despair of any other expedient, prevailed so far with his Majesty, that he resolved, upon what terms so-
 ever, to embark himself, in Holland, upon a fleet which The King resolves for Scotland.
 the Prince of Orange provided for him; and so with all the Scottish, and very few English servants, to set sail for Scotland.

There were two very strong arguments, which made Arguments of some lords against the King's going to Scotland.
 deep impression on those lords who very vehemently dissuaded, and ever protested against his Majesty's going for Scotland, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the highest importance, they could not make use of to convert others, especially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The first, "that the expedition of Duke Hamilton the year before, with an army as numerous, and much better furnished, and provided, than Scotland could in many years be again enabled to send out, made it manifest enough, how little that nation, how united soever, could prevail against the force of England:" The other, "that the whole and absolute power of Scotland being, at that time, confessedly vested in the Marquis of Argyle, it might reasonably be feared, and expected, that the King should no sooner arrive there, and the least appearance be discovered of such resolutions, or alterations in the affections of the people, upon which the Hamiltonian faction wholly and solely depended, but Argyle would immediately deliver up the person of the King into the hands of Cromwell; and, with the assistance he would willingly give, make that kingdom tributary or subservient to him, whilst the King remained his prisoner, and Argyle continued his vicegerent in Scotland." No doubt these objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of apprehension,

sion, by many men, who were not blinded with passion, or amazed with despair: and though they were not able to give any other counsel, what course the King might steer with reasonable hope and security, they might yet warrantably dissuade his exposing himself to so many visible dangers as that voyage was subject to both at sea and land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of King, in what obscurity soever, in any part of the world, was to be preferred before the empty name of King in any of his own dominions; which was the best that could reasonably be expected from the conditions which were imposed upon him; to which he was compelled to submit.

The two ambassadors in Spain had order from the King to stay where they were.

During this time, when the ambassadors who were in Spain expected every day to hear of his Majesty's being arrived in Ireland, and had thereupon importuned that Court for a dispatch, the King gave them notice of this his resolution, and directed them "to remain where they were, till he could better judge of his own fortune." They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a strong aversion that the King should ever venture himself in the hands of that party of the Scottish nation, which had treated his father so perfidiously. And they were now necessitated to stay there, where they had received so little encouragement, and had no reason to expect more. They therefore resolved to set the best face they could upon it, and desired an audience from the King: in which they told his Catholic Majesty, "that they had received letters from the King their master; who commanded them to inform his Majesty, who, he knew well, would be glad to hear of any good fortune that befell him, that it had now pleased God to work so far upon the hearts and affections of his subjects of Scotland, that they had given
"over

They acquaint the King of Spain with their master's resolution for Scotland.

" over all those factions and animosities, which had here-
 " tofore divided them, and made them rather instruments
 " of mischiefs, than benefit to his blessed father, and to
 " himself: that they were now sensible of all those mis-
 " carriages, and had sent unanimously to entreat his
 " Majesty to come into that kingdom, and to take them
 " all into his protection: with which his Majesty was
 " so well satisfied, that he had laid aside the thought of
 " transporting himself into Ireland; which he had in-
 " tended to do; and was gone into Scotland; where
 " the kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and from
 " whence he could visit England, or Ireland, as he
 " found it most convenient: and that he had reason to
 " believe, that his friends in either of the kingdoms
 " would quickly appear in arms, when they were sure
 " to be so powerfully assisted, and seconded." And they
 " said, " they would, from time to time, inform his Ma-
 " jesty of the good success that should fall out." The
 " King professed " to be very glad of this good news; and
 " that they should assure the King their master, that he
 " would be always ready to make all the demonstration
 " of a brotherly affection that the ill condition of his
 " own affairs would permit; and that, if it pleased God
 " to give a peace to the two Crowns, the world should
 " see how forward he would be to revenge the wrong and
 " indignity the King of Great Britain had undergone."

The King
 of Spain's
 answer to
 them.

Though the ambassadors themselves were afflicted
 with the news of his Majesty's being gone for Scotland,
 upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery
 of that faction there, yet they found his Majesty was
 much the more esteemed in this Court by it. He was
 before looked upon as being dispossessed and disinhe-
 rited of all his dominions, as if he had no more subjects
 than those few who were banished with him, and that
 there

there was an entire defection in all the rest. But now that he was possessed of one whole kingdom, in which no man appeared in arms against him, a kingdom which had been famous for many warlike actions, and which always bred a very warlike people, which had borne good parts in all the wars of Europe in this age, and had been celebrated in them, was a happy advance, and administered reasonable hope that he might be established in the other two kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous army on foot at that very time: so that the ambassadors were much better looked upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the English merchants who lived in the ports of Spain, as they had sometimes occasion to do, upon taxes and impositions laid upon them, contrary to the treaties which had been made, and which they said were still in force, they were heard with respect; the merchants were relieved; and many favours were done to particular persons upon their desires and interposition: so that they were not so much out of countenance as they had been, and all men spoke with more freedom and detestation against the rebellion in England; and the barbarity thereof, than they had used to do.

There fell out at this time, and before the King left Holland, an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of Scotland, determined that the King should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that nation, could not but have diverted his Majesty from that northern expedition; which, how unsecure soever it appeared to be for the King, was predestinated for a greater chastisement and mortification of that people, as it shortly after proved to be. When the King had left Holland, the
summer

summer before, and intended only to make France his way to Ireland, he had given his commission to the Marquis of Mountrose, to gather such a force together, as by the help of the northern princes he might be enabled to do. Upon which the Marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of success, sent several officers who had served in Germany, and promised very much, to draw such troops together as they should be enabled to do, and himself, with a great train of officers and servants, went for Hamburg; which he appointed for the rendezvous for all these troops, and from whence he could in the mean time visit such courts of the neighbour princes and states, as he should be encouraged to do; and keep such intelligence with his friends in Scotland, as should provide for his reception.

The Mar-
quis of
Mountrose
goes for
Hamburg
to solicit
for forces.

Besides the hopes and encouragement he had received from the ambassador Wolfelte, to expect good supplies in Denmark, there were many officers of good name and account in Sweden, of the Scottish nation, who were grown rich, and lived in plenty in that kingdom. With the principal of them, the Marquis had held correspondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themselves, "that if the Marquis engaged himself in the King's service in the kingdom of Scotland, they would give him notable assistance in money, arms, and men." In a word, he sent, or went in person, to both those kingdoms; where he found the performance very disproportionable to their promises. Queen Christina had received an agent from England with wonderful civility and grace, and expressed a great esteem of the person of Cromwell, as a man of glorious achievements; and before she resigned the Crown, which she in few years after did, she engaged it in a fast alliance with the new
Common-

Commonwealth, and disposed her successor to look upon it as a necessary support to his Crown. In Denmark, the Marquis found good wishes enough, a hearty detestation of all the villainies which had been acted in England, and as hearty wishes for the advancement and prosperity of the King's affairs; but the kingdom itself was very poor, and full of discontent, the King not so much esteemed, because not so much feared, as his father had been, and he had been compelled to make many unreasonable concessions to Holland, that he might have assistance from them, to protect him from those assaults and invasions which were threatened from Sweden. So that the Marquis was obliged to return to Hamburg, with very small supplies, from either or both those kingdoms: and there he received no better account from those officers who had been sent into Germany. His design had always been to land in the Highlands of Scotland, before the winter season should be over, both for the safety of his embarkation, and that he might have time to draw those people together, who, he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it should be known at Edinburgh that he was landed in the kingdom. He had, by frequent messages, kept a constant correspondence with those principal heads of the Clans who were most powerful in the Highlands, and were of known or unsuspected affection to the King, and advertised them of all his motions and designs. And by them acquainted those of the Lowlands of all his resolutions; who had promised, upon the first notice of his arrival, to resort with all their friends and followers to him.

Whether these men did really believe, that their own strength would be sufficient to subdue their enemies; who were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing

ing over troops of foreigners would lessen the numbers and affections of the natives, they did write very earnestly to the Marquis, "to hasten his coming over with officers, arms, and ammunition; for which he should find hands enough;" and gave him notice, "that the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh had sent again to the King to come over to them; and that the people were so impatient for his presence, that Argyle was compelled to consent to the invitation." It is very probable that this made the greatest impression upon him. He knew very well how few persons there were about the King, who were like to continue firm in those principles, which could only confirm his Majesty in his former resolutions against the persuasions and importunities of many others, who knew how to represent to him the desperateness of his condition any other way, than by repairing into Scotland upon any conditions. Mountrose knew, that of the two factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacable enemies; so that which soever prevailed, he should be still in the same state, the whole Kirk, of what temper soever, being alike malicious to him; and hearing likewise of the successive misfortunes in Ireland, he concluded, the King would not trust himself there. Therefore, upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from Germany and those northern princes would not increase the strength he had already, he caused, in the depth of the winter, those soldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be embarked, and sent officers with them, who knew the country, with directions that they should land in such a place in the Highlands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or sent them orders. And then in another vessel, manned by peo-

Mountrose
embarks for
Scotland;
lands there
in March,
1649.

ple well known to him, and commanded by a captain very faithful to the King, and who was well acquainted with that coast, he embarked himself, and near one hundred officers, and landed in another creek, not far from the other place, whither his soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other party were set safely on shore in the places they designed; from whence the Marquis himself with some servants, and officers, repaired presently to the house of a gentleman of quality, with whom he had corresponded, who expected him; by whom he was well received, and thought himself to be in security till he might put his affairs in some method: and therefore ordered his other small troops to contain themselves in those uncouth quarters, in which they were, and where he thought they were not like to be disturbed by the visitation of any enemy.

Publishes
his declaration.

After he had stayed there a short time, it being in March about the end of the year 1649, he quickly possessed himself of an old castle; which, in respect of the situation in a country so impossible for any army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose: thither he conveyed the arms, ammunition, and troops, which he had brought with him. And then he published his declaration, “that he came with the King’s commission, to assist those his good subjects, and to preserve them from oppression: that he did not intend to give any interruption to the treaty that he heard was entered into with his Majesty; but, on the contrary, hoped that his being in the head of an army, how small soever, that was faithful to the King, might advance the same. However, he had given sufficient proof in his former actions, that if any agreement were made with the King, upon the first order from his Majesty, he should lay down his arms, and
“dispose

“ dispose himself according to his Majesty’s good pleasure.” These declarations he sent to his friends to be scattered by them, and dispersed amongst the people, as they could be able. He writ likewise to those of the nobility, and the heads of the several Clans, “to draw such forces together, as they thought necessary to join with him;” and he received answers from many of them, by which they desired him “to advance more into the land,” (for he was yet in the remotest parts of Cathness), and assured him, “that they would meet him with good numbers:” and they did prepare so to do, some really; and others, with a purpose to betray him.

In this state stood the affair in the end of the year 1649: but because the unfortunate tragedy of that noble person succeeded so soon after, without the intervention of any notable circumstances to interrupt it, we will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be resumed in the proper season; which quickly ensued, in the beginning of the next year. The Marquis of Argyle was vigilant enough, to observe the motion of an enemy that was so formidable to him; and had present information of his arrival in the Highlands, and of the small forces which he had brought with him. The Parliament was then sitting at Edinburgh, their messenger being returned to them from Jersey, with an account, “that the King would treat with their commissioners at Breda;” for whom they were preparing their instructions.

The alarm of Mountrose’s being landed startled them all, and gave them no leisure to think of any thing else than of sending forces to hinder the recourse of others to join with him. They immediately sent Colonel Straghan, a diligent and active officer, with a choice party of the best horse they had, to make all possible haste towards him, Colonel Straghan sent against him and his small forces.

him, and to prevent the insurrections, which they feared would be in several parts of the Highlands. And, within few days after, David Lesley followed with a stronger party of horse and foot. The encouragement the Marquis of Mountrose received from his friends, and the unpleasantness of the quarters in which he was, prevailed with him to march, with these few troops, more into the land. And the Highlanders flocking to him from all quarters, though ill armed, and worse disciplined, made him undervalue any enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. Straghan made such haste, that the Earl of Southerland, who at least pretended to have gathered together a body of fifteen hundred men to meet Mountrose, chose rather to join with Straghan : others did the like, who had made the same promises, or, stayed at home to expect the event of the first encounter. The Marquis was without any body of horse to discover the motion of an enemy, but depended upon all necessary intelligence from the affection of the people ; which he believed to be the same it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated ; the tyranny of Argyle, and his having caused very many to be barbarously murdered, without any form of law or justice, who had been in arms with Mountrose, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity, had so broken their hearts, that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that Straghan was within a small distance of him, before he heard of his approach ; and those Highlanders, who had seemed to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified, or corrupted, left him on a sudden, or threw down their arms ; so that he had none left, but a company of good officers, and five or six hundred foreigners, Dutch and Germans, who had been acquainted with

with their officers. With these, he betook himself to a place of some advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the bushes and small shrubs which filled it: and there they made a defence for some time with notable courage.

But the enemy being so much superior in number, the common soldiers, being all foreigners, after about a hundred of them were killed upon the place, threw down their arms; and the Marquis, seeing all lost, threw away his ribbon and George, (for he was a Knight ^{By whom Mountrose is routed.} of the Garter), and found means to change his clothes with a fellow of the country, and so after having gone on foot two or three miles, he got into a house of a gentleman, where he remained concealed about two days: most of the other officers were shortly after taken prisoners, all the country desiring to merit from Argyle by betraying all those into his hands which they believed to be his enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the house, or any other way, the Marquis himself became ^{The Marquis of Mountrose taken prisoner.} their prisoner. The strangers who were taken, were set at liberty, and transported themselves into their own countries; and the castle, in which there was a little garrison, presently rendered itself; so that there was no more fear of an enemy in those parts.

The Marquis of Mountrose, and the rest of the prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, delivered to David Lesley; who was come up with his forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in triumph to Edinburgh; whither notice was quickly sent of their great victory; which was received there with wonderful joy and acclamation. David Lesley treated the Marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same clothes, and habit, in which he was taken; but at last permitted him to buy better. His behaviour

was, in the whole time, such as became a great man; his countenance serene and cheerful, as one that was superior to all those reproaches, which they had prepared the people to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass.

Brought to
Edinburgh.

When he came to one of the gates of Edinburgh, he was met by some of the magistrates, to whom he was delivered, and by them presently put into a new cart, purposely made, in which there was a high chair, or bench, upon which he sat, that the people might have a full view of him, being bound with a cord drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the cart. When he was in this posture, the hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken prisoners with him, walking two and two before the cart; the streets and windows being full of people to behold the triumph over a person whose name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the magistrates of that place had, upon their knees, delivered the keys of that city. In this manner he was carried to the common gaol, where he was received and treated as a common malefactor. Within two days

He is
brought
before the
Parliament.

after, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of Lowden, the Chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent declamation against him: told him, "he had broken all the covenants by which that whole nation stood obliged; and had impiously rebelled against God, the King, and the kingdom; that he had committed many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for all which he was now brought to suffer condign punishment;" with all those insolent reproaches upon his person, and his actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

Permission

Permission was then given to him to speak; and without the least trouble in his countenance, or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffered, he told them, "since the King had owned them so far as to treat with them, he had appeared before them with reverence, and bare-headed, which otherwise he would not willingly have done: that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to repent; that the first Covenant, he had taken, and complied with it, and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discovered, which was now evident to all the world, that private and particular men designed to satisfy their own ambition and interest, instead of considering the public benefit; and that, under the pretence of reforming some errors in religion, they resolved to abridge and take away the King's just power, and lawful authority, he had withdrawn himself from that engagement: that for the League and Covenant, he had never taken it, and therefore could not break it: and it was now too apparent to the whole Christian world, what monstrous mischiefs it had produced: that when, under colour of it, an army from Scotland had invaded England in assistance of the rebellion that was then against their lawful King, he had, by his Majesty's command, received a commission from him to raise forces in Scotland, that he might thereby divert them from the other odious prosecution: that he had executed that commission with the obedience and duty he owed to the King; and, in all the circumstances of it, had proceeded like a gentleman; and had never suffered any blood to be shed but in the heat of the battle; and that he saw many persons there, whose lives he had saved: that when the King commanded him, he laid

His behaviour there.

“down his arms, and withdrew out of the kingdom ;
 “which they could not have compelled him to have
 “done.” He said, “he was now again entered into the
 “kingdom by his Majesty’s command, and with his
 “authority : and what success soever it might have
 “pleased God to have given him, he would always have
 “obeyed any commands he should have received from
 “him.” He advised them, “to consider well of the
 “consequence before they proceeded against him, and
 “that all his actions might be examined, and judged by
 “the laws of the land, or those of nations.”

The sen-
 tence
 against
 him.

As soon as he had ended his discourse, he was ordered to withdraw ; and, after a short space, was again brought in ; and told by the Chancellor, “that he was, on the
 “morrow, being the one and twentieth of May 1650, to
 “be carried to Edinburgh Cross, and there to be hanged
 “upon a gallows thirty foot high, for the space of three
 “hours, and then to be taken down, and his head to be
 “cut off upon a scaffold, and hanged on Edinburgh
 “Tolbooth ; his legs and arms to be hanged up in other
 “public towns of the kingdom, and his body to be bu-
 “ried at the place where he was to be executed, except
 “the Kirk should take off his excommunication ; and
 “then his body might be buried in the common place
 “of burial.” He desired, “that he might say some-
 “what to them ;” but was not suffered, and so was car-
 ried back to the prison.

His dis-
 course with
 the Presby-
 terian min-
 isters.

That he might not enjoy any ease or quiet during the short remainder of his life, their ministers came presently to insult over him with all the reproaches imaginable ; pronounced his damnation ; and assured him, “that the
 “judgment he was the next day to suffer, was but an
 “easy prologue to that which he was to undergo after-
 “wards.” After many such barbarities, they offered to
 intercede

intercede for him to the Kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him ; but he too well understood the form of their common prayer, in those cases, to be only the most virulent and insolent imprecations upon the persons of those they prayed against, “ (Lord, vouchsafe yet to “ touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible sinner, “ this wicked, perjured, traitorous, and profane person, “ who refuses to hearken to the voice of thy Kirk,” and the like charitable expressions), and therefore he desired them “ to spare their pains, and to leave him to his own “ devotions.” He told them, “ that they were a miserable, deluded, and deluding people ; and would “ shortly bring that poor nation under the most insupportable servitude ever people had submitted to.” He told them, “ he was prouder to have his head set “ upon the place it was appointed to be, than he could “ have been to have had his picture hang in the King’s “ bedchamber : that he was so far from being troubled “ that his four limbs were to be hanged in four cities “ of the kingdom, that he heartily wished that he had “ flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom, “ as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered.”

The next day, they executed every part and circumstance of that barbarous sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable ; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greatest piety, that a good Christian could manifest. He magnified the virtue, courage, and religion of the last King, exceedingly commended the justice, and goodness, and understanding of the present King ; and prayed, “ that they might not “ betray him as they had done his father.” When he had ended all he meant to say, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one scene more to act of their tyranny. The hangman brought the book that had
been

been published of his truly heroic actions, whilst he had commanded in that kingdom, which book was tied in a small cord that was put about his neck. The Marquis smiled at this new instance of their malice, and thanked them for it; and said, "he was pleased that it should be there; and was prouder of wearing it, than ever he had been of the Garter;" and so renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last act of the executioner.

The execution of his officers.

Soon after, the officers who had been taken with him, Sir William Urry, Sir Francis Hay, and many others, of as good families as any in the kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in several quarters of the kingdom; many of them being suffered to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to save, one Colonel Whitford; who, when he was brought to die, said, "he knew the reason why he was put to death; which was only because he had killed Dorislaus at the Hague;" who was one of those who had joined in the murder of the last King. One of the magistrates, who were present to see the execution, caused it to be suspended, till he presently informed the Council what the man had said; and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and so preserved the gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that action.

His character.

Thus died the gallant Marquis of Mountrose; after he had given as great a testimony of loyalty and courage, as a subject can do, and performed as wonderful actions in several battles, upon as great inequality of numbers, and as great disadvantages in respect of arms, and other preparations for war, as have been performed in this age. He was a gentleman of a very ancient extraction, many of whose ancestors had exercised the highest charges under the King in that kingdom, and had

had been allied to the Crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improved by a good education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of Argyle, (as he was too apt to condemn those he did not love), who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree. Mountrose was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any enterprise for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate to other men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him, (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility and generosity), than with his superiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived.

The King received an account and information of all these particulars, before he embarked from Holland, without any other apology for the affront and indignity to himself, than that they assured him, "that the proceeding against the late Marquis of Mountrose had been for his service." They who were most displeased with Argyle and his faction, were not sorry for this inhuman and monstrous prosecution; which at the same time must render him the more odious, and had rid them of an enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they persuaded the King, who was enough afflicted with the news, and all the

The King
receives the
news of all
this.

the circumstances of it, “that he might sooner take
 “revenge upon that people by a temporary complying
 “with them, and going to them, than staying away, and
 “absenting himself, which would invest them in an ab-
 “solute dominion in that kingdom, and give them
 “power to corrupt or destroy all those who yet remained
 “faithful to him, and were ready to spend their lives in
 “his service:” and so his Majesty pursued his former re-
 solution of embarking for Scotland.

*The affairs
 of Ireland.*

In Ireland, after the massacre of that body of English at Tredagh, and the treacherous giving up the towns in Munster, by the officers of the Lord Inchiquin, there broke out so implacable a jealousy amongst the Irish against all the English, that no orders of the Marquis of Ormond found any obedience, nor could he draw an army together. At the making of the peace, he had consented that the confederate Roman Catholics should name a number of the commissioners, by whose orders and ministry all levies of men, and all collections of money, were to be made, according to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant. And such persons were named, in whose affections, for the most part, the Lieutenant was well satisfied, and the rest were such as were not like to be able to give any interruption. A certain number of these were appointed to be always in the army, and near the person of the Lord Lieutenant, and the rest in their several stations, where they were most like to advance the service. Many of these commissioners were of the Roman Catholic nobility, persons of honour, and very sensible of the weakness, wilfulness, and wickedness of that rebellion; and did manifest all possible zeal and affection to the King's service, engaging their persons in all enterprises of danger, and using all possible industry to raise men and money, whereby the Lord Lieutenant might

might be enabled to carry on the war in the spring. But many of the other, after those misfortunes had fallen out, which are mentioned before, either totally desponded, and rather thought of providing for themselves than for the preservation of the public; or fomented the jealousies which were amongst the Irish, and incensed them against the English, who were still with the Lord Lieutenant; so that his orders were not obeyed at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their clergy and friars publicly incensed the people against the articles of the peace, and desired to have an army raised apart under a General of their own.

The Lord Lieutenant now discovered the reason why Owen O'Neile had refused to consent to the peace which the confederate Roman Catholics had made with the King, and kept his army in Ulster from submitting thereunto, and pretended to desire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the jealousy that was between him and Preston, and the animosity between those old Irish of Ulster, and the other of the other provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the Marquis of Ormond's transporting himself out of France, and that the correspondence was discovered to be between him and the Lord Inchiquin, and the treaty begun with the confederate Catholics, the close committee at Westminster sent secret instructions to Monk, who commanded part of their forces in Ireland, "that he should endeavour to treat with Owen O'Neile, and so divide him from the rest of the Irish;" which Monk found opportunity to do: and it was no sooner proposed than hearkened unto by O'Neile; who presently sent a trusty messenger with such propositions to Monk, as he desired to have granted to him. He offered, "with his army, which should
"always

“ always consist of such a number of horse and foot, “ and artillery, as should be agreed between them, to “ serve the Parliament; and not to separate from their “ interest;” and proposed, “ that he, and all his party “ that should adhere to him, should enjoy the exercise “ of their religion, without any prejudice or disadvantage: that himself might be restored to those “ lands which his ancestors had been possessed of in “ Tyrone, Londonderry, or any other parts of Ireland; “ and that all those who had or would adhere to him, “ should be likewise restored to their estates; and that “ an act of oblivion might be granted.” Monk received these propositions; and after he had perused them, he sent him word, “ that there were some particulars, which, he doubted, would shock and offend “ the Parliament, and therefore desired they might be “ altered;” and proposed the alterations he advised; which principally concerned the public exercise of their religion; which he so qualified, that they might well enough satisfy; and proposed, “ that, if O’Neile would “ consent to those alterations, he would return the treaty “ signed by him; which he would immediately send “ over to the Parliament for their confirmation; and “ that, in the mean time, there might be a cessation of “ arms between them for three months; in which time, “ and much less, he presumed, he should receive a ratification of the treaty from the Parliament.”

Owen O’Neile consented to the alterations, set his hand and seal to the treaty, and returned it to Monk, with his consent likewise to the cessation for three months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the confederate council at Kilkenny in the peace with the King. Monk sent it presently to the committee, which had given him authority to do what he had done.

But

But their affairs were now better composed at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for Ireland ; besides, they had not authority to make any such ratification, but presented it to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the House was on fire ; all men inveighed against " the presumption of Monk, who deserved to be displaced, and to have his command taken from him, and to have exemplary punishment inflicted on him. They remembered how criminal they had declared it to be in the King himself, to have treated, and made a peace with the Irish rebels : and what would the people think, and say, if any countenance should be given to the same transgression by the Parliament ? if they should ratify a treaty made by the most notorious of the rebels, and with that people under his command, who were the most notorious contrivers of that rebellion, and the most bloody executioners of it ? for the most merciless massacres had been committed in Ulster, by that very people who now constituted that army of which Owen O'Neile was now General." After all the passion and choler which they thought necessary to express upon this subject, they declared, " that they had given no authority to Monk to enter into that treaty ; and therefore, that it was void, and should never be confirmed by them ; but that, since he had proceeded out of the sincerity of his heart, and as he thought (how erroneously soever) for the good and benefit of the Commonwealth, he should be excused ; and no farther questioned thereupon." For they knew well, that he could produce such a warrant from those in authority, as would well justify his proceeding : and so the treaty with Owen O'Neile became void, though they had received

a very

The House
refuses to
ratify Monk's
treaty with
Owen
O'Neile.

a very considerable benefit by it ; for though the Scots in Ulster had not yet submitted to the peace, and had not yet received directions from Edinburgh to acknowledge the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the murder of the late King, they had used all acts of hostility against the Parliament forces, and had besieged Londonderry ; the only considerable place that yielded obedience to the Parliament ; which was defended by Sir Charles Coote, and when it was brought to some extremity, by the cessation made with Owen O'Neile, and by his connivance and assistance, Londonderry was relieved ; and O'Neile, finding himself deluded by the Parliament, sent then to offer his service and conjunction to the Lord Lieutenant, with abundant professions of fidelity and revenge.

Cromwell made notable use of this animosity between the Irish amongst themselves, and of the jealousy they all appeared to have of the Marquis of Ormond, and of those who adhered to him ; and used all the endeavours he could, by some prisoners who were taken, and by others who were in the towns which were betrayed to him, and were well known to have affection for the Marquis, to procure a conference with him. He used to ask in such company, "what the Marquis of Ormond had to do with Charles Stuart, and what obligations he had ever received from him ?" And then would mention the hard measure his grandfather had received from King James, and the many years imprisonment he had sustained by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his ; which yet he was at last compelled to do. He said, "he was confident, if the Marquis and he could meet together, upon conference, they should part very good friends."

And

And many of those with whom he held these discourses, by his permission and licence, informed the Marquis of all he said; who endeavoured nothing but to put himself into such a posture, as to be able to meet him as he desired to do.

When Cromwell saw that he should be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, besides the army that yet remained under Owen O'Neile so much disoblged and provoked, there were still vast bodies of the Irish, which might be drawn together into several armies, much greater and superior in number to all his forces, and that they had several great towns and strong holds in their power, he declared a full liberty and authority to all the officers with the Irish, and to all other persons whatsoever, to raise what men they would, and to transport them for the service of any foreign princes with whom they could make the best conditions; and gave notice to the Spanish and French ministers, and agents at London, of the liberty he had granted. Upon which many officers who had served the King, and remained in London in great poverty and want, made conditions with Don Alonzo de Cardinas, to raise regiments and transport them into Spain; and many officers, who were already in Spain, as well English as Irish, contracted with the ministers in that Court to raise and transport several regiments into that kingdom from Ireland; for which they received very great sums of money in hand; many merchants joining with them in the contract, and undertaking the transportation upon very good conditions; there being no other danger but of the sea in the undertaking; insomuch that, in very few months above a year, there were embarked in the ports of Ireland above five and twenty thousand men for the kingdom of Spain; whercof not half were ever

Cromwell gives the Irish leave to transport themselves into any prince's service.

drawn into the field there, and very few ever lived to return. For the officers and masters of ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their men at such ports as were assigned to them, and where care was taken for their reception, and conduct to the quarters which were appointed, according to the service to which they were designed, either for Catalonia or Portugal, (after they had been long at sea, by which the soldiers, who were crowded more together into one ship than was fit for so long voyages, had contracted many diseases, and many were dead, and thrown overboard), as soon as they came upon the coast made all haste to land, how far soever from the place at which they stood bound to deliver their men; by which, in those places that could make resistance, they were not suffered to land, and in others no provision was made for their reception or march, but very great numbers were starved or knocked in the head by the country people, and few ever came up to the armies, except officers; who flocked to Madrid for the remainder of their monies; where the ministers received them with reproaches for not observing their conditions, and refused to pay either them, or the masters of the ships, what remained to be paid by them. This was the case of too many: though the truth is, where the articles were punctually observed, and the ships arrived in the very ports assigned, by the defect in the orders sent from the Court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor men were often kept from disembarking, till some officers went to Madrid, and returned with more positive orders, and afterwards so ill provision was made for their refreshing and march, that rarely half of those who were shipped in Ireland, ever lived to do any service in Spain: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the ministers there should
issue

issue out such vast sums in money for the raising of soldiers, and bringing them into the kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the officers, and take so very little care to cherish and nourish them, when they came thither ; which manifested how loose the government was.

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the Irish for the service of Spain, than of France; yet the Cardinal employed more active and dexterous instruments to make use of the liberty that was granted, and shipping was more easily procured, the passage being shorter ; insomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thousand men at the same time transported out of Ireland into the kingdom of France ; of whose behaviour in the one kingdom and the other, there will be abundant argument hereafter to discourse at large. In the mean time, it is enough to observe that when the King's Lieutenant, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts, which the confederate Roman Catholics had made to and with him, could not draw together a body of five thousand men, (by which he might have been able to have given some stop to the current of Cromwell's successes), Cromwell himself found a way to send above forty thousand men out of that kingdom for service of foreign princes ; which might have been enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restored it to the King's entire obedience.

In England, the spirits of all the loyal party were so broken and subdued, that they could scarce breathe under the insupportable burdens which were laid upon them by imprisonments, compositions, and sequestrations. Whatever articles they had made in the war, and whatever promises had been made of pardon and indemnity, they

The low condition of the loyal party in England.

they were now called upon to finish their composition for their delinquency, and paid dear for the credit they had given to the professions and declarations of the army, when it seemed to have pity, and complained of the severe and rigorous proceeding against the King's party, and extorting unreasonable penalties from them ; which then they desired might be moderated. But now the mask was off, they sequestered all their estates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they should compound ; which they were forced to do at so unreasonable rates, that many were compelled to sell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the support of their families ; which remainder was still liable to whatever impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their persons were to imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless report was raised of some plot and conspiracy against the state.

The Levellers mutiny, and are suppressed by Fairfax.

The Parliament, which consisted only of those members who had sate in judgment, and had solemnly murdered the King, and of those who as solemnly under their hands had approved and commended what the others had done, met with no opposition or contradiction from any, but an entire submission from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own army which had contributed most to the grandeur and empire of which they were possessed, the Levellers. That people had been countenanced by Cromwell to enter into cabals and confederacies to corrupt and dissolve the discipline of the army, and by his artifices had been applied to bring all his crooked designs to pass. By them he broke the strict union between the Parliament and the Scots, and then took the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and kept him in the army, with so many fair professions of intending better to his Majesty,

jeſty, and his party, than the other did; by them the Preſbyterians had been affronted and trodden under foot, and the city of London expoſed to diſgrace and infamy; by them he had broken the treaty of the Iſle of Wight; driven out of the Parliament, by force of arms, all thoſe who deſired peace, and at laſt executed his barbarous malice upon the ſacred perſon of the King: and when he had applied them to all thoſe uſes, for which he thought them to be moſt fit, he hoped and endeavoured to have reduced them again, by a ſevere hand, into that order and obedience from whence he had ſeduced them, and which was now as neceſſary to his future purpoſe of government. But they had taſted too much of the pleaſure of having their part and ſhare in it, to be willing to be ſtripped, and deprived of it; and made an unſkilful computation of what they ſhould be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in thoſe changes and revolutions which are mentioned; not conſidering, that the ſuperior officers of the army were now united with the Parliament, and concurred entirely in the ſame deſigns. And therefore when they renewed their former expoſtulations and demands from the Parliament, they were caſhied, and imprifoned, and ſome of them put to death. Yet about the time that Cromwell, who had proſecuted them with great fury, was going for Ireland, they recovered their courage, and reſolved to obtain thoſe conceſſions by force, which were reſuſed to be granted upon their requeſt: and ſo they mutinied in ſeveral parts, upon preſumption that the reſt of the army, who would not join with them in public, would yet never be prevailed with to oppoſe, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceived them; for the Parliament no ſooner commanded their General Fairfax

to

to suppress them, than he drew troops together, and fell upon them at Banbury, Burford, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppressed that faction; and the orders of those at Westminster met with no more opposition.

This was the state and condition of the three kingdoms at the end of the year 1649, some few months after the King embarked himself in Holland for Scotland. And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate actions, we will end this discourse, according to the method we have used, with this year: though hereafter we shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years in less room, whilst the King rested in a patient expectation of God's blessing and deliverance.

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